

*Greek emigres in the West*  
*1400-1520*

JONATHAN HARRIS

PORPHYROGENITUS  
1995

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British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data.  
A catalogue for this book is available from the British Library.

ISBN 1 871328 11 X

Set by Porhyrogenitus Ltd.  
Printed by Redwood Books, Trowbridge, Wilts.

To Phil and Jan



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5/6/1996 British School, 245.-



## *Preface*

This book is a revision of a Ph.D. thesis based on a body of information gathered during four years of research in European archives. The interpretation I have put on that information is, of course, a personal one and it is only to be expected that it will not appeal to everyone. Be that as it may, many of the documents I came across in the course of my research are fascinating and informative in themselves, so that it is to be hoped that by drawing attention to them in a work of this sort, something will be done to stimulate a discussion of the relations between Byzantium and Western Europe in the fifteenth century.

The method of transliterating Greek names used here is also a personal one. Rather than to attempt a rigid consistency, I have adopted those versions which seem to me most natural and familiar. Therefore imperial dynasties like Comnenus and Palaeologus appear in their Latinized form while with most other surnames the ending *-os* is used. The surnames Theophilus, Callistus and some others, however, seemed more appropriate with the Latin ending. Christian names of Greeks are given in their English form but again there are exceptions. It would be confusing to transform the well-known Janus Lascaris into John and Andreas always seemed much more appropriate than Andrew as the name of the exiled despot of the Morea.

In the process of writing I was greatly assisted by a number of scholars who gave generously of their time and experience. My greatest debt is to Miss Julian Chrysostomides, who supervised the thesis and continued to give invaluable advice on the book, and to Dr David d'Avray, who read and commented on the completed typescript. My thanks are due to the following for their suggestions, corrections and encouragement: Dr Caroline Barron, Joanna Christophoraki, Charalambos Dendrinos, Catherine Fuller, Hero Granger-Taylor, Maria Kalatzi, Peter Griffin, Andrew Oddy, Professor N.M. Panayotakis, Michael Quinn, Professor F. Rosen and Kay Staniland, as well as to John Chrysostomides who saw this book through the press. I am also indebted to Professor A.A.M. Bryer and Mrs C.M. Roueché for pointing out some of the many deficiencies of the original Ph.D. thesis. Those which remain are the responsibility of the author alone.

The research on which this book is based was funded by the British Academy, the Leverhulme Trust, the Central Research Fund of the



University of London, the Gladys Kriebel Delmas Foundation, the A.G. Leventis Foundation, and the Worshipful Company of Gold and Silver Wyre Drawers. Publication was made possible by grants from the A.G. Leventis Foundation and the Isobel Thornley Bequest Fund. I received great help in many libraries and archives too numerous to mention individually but I would particularly like to thank the staff of the Institute of Historical Research, the Pontificio Istituto Orientale and the Hellenic Institute in Venice. The texts presented in Appendices II and III at the end of the work are reproduced by kind permission of the Director of the Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, York and the Controller of Her Majesty's Stationery Office. The text of PRO C1/11/294 in Appendix III remains Crown copyright.

University College London  
June 1995

Jonathan Harris

## *List of Abbreviations*

ADN	Archives Départementales du Nord, Lille.
ADSM	Archives Départementales du Seine-maritime, Rouen.
AN	Archives Nationales, Paris.
ASPN	<i>Archivio Storico per le Province Napoletane</i> (Naples, 1876-)
ASR	Archivio di Stato, Rome.
ASV	Archivio di Stato, Venice.
ASVat	Archivio Segreto Vaticano.
BAV	Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.
BEC	<i>Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes</i> (Paris, 1839-)
BH	E. Legrand, <i>Bibliographie hellénique des XVe et XVIe siècles</i> (Paris, 1962, reprint), 4 vols.
BI	Borthwick Institute, York.
BL	British Library, London.
BN	Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.
BZ	<i>Byzantinische Zeitschrift</i> (Leipzig, 1892-)
CCR	<i>Calendar of the Close Rolls</i> (London, 1905-63), 60 vols.
CFHB	<i>Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae</i> .
CPL	<i>Calendar of the Papal Registers: Letters</i> (London, 1893-1955), 15 vols.
CPR	<i>Calendar of the Patent Rolls</i> (London, 1901-86), 74 vols.
CSHB	<i>Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae</i> (Bonn, 1828-97).
CSP (Dom)	<i>Calendar of the State Papers (Domestic Series)</i> (London, 1857-1924), 94 vols.
CSP (Ven)	<i>Calendar of State Papers (Venice)</i> , ed. R. Brown and A.B. Hinds (London, 1864-1940), 41 vols.
CUL	Cambridge University Library.
DG	ASR, Camerale I, Depositaria Generale della Crociata.



- DNB Dictionary of National Biography.  
 DOP *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* (Washington D.C., 1941-)  
 EEBS 'Επετηρίς 'Εταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν (Athens, 1924-)  
 EHR *English Historical Review* (London, 1886-).  
 GL Guildhall Library, London.  
 HRO Hampshire Record Office, Winchester.  
 IADNB *Inventaire-sommaire des archives départementales antérieures à 1790 (Nord)*, series B, ed. A. le Glay et al. (Lille, 1863-1906), 10 vols.  
 LP *Letters and Papers Foreign and Domestic of the Reign of Henry VIII, 1509-47*, ed. J.S. Brewer, J. Gairdner and R.H. Brodie (London, 1862-1910, 1920), 21 vols.  
 LPP S.P. Lambros, *Παλαιολόγεια καὶ πελοποννησιακά*, (Athens, 1912-30), 4 vols.  
 MC ASR, Camerale I, Mandati Camerali.  
 MGH *Monumenta Germaniae Historiae*.  
 MM *Acta et Diplomata Graeca Medii Aevi Sacra et Profana*, ed. F. Miklosich and W. Müller (Vienna, 1860-90), 6 vols.  
 NE Νέος 'Ελληνομνημῶν (Athens, 1904-27).  
 ns New series.  
 OCP *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* (Rome, 1935-).  
 PG J.-P. Migne, *Patrologiae Cursus Completus, Ser: Graeco-Latina* (Paris, 1857-66), 161 vols.  
 PPC *Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council*, ed. N.H. Nicolas (London, 1834-7), 7 vols.  
 PRO Public Record Office, London.  
 REB *Revue des Études Byzantines* (Paris and Bucharest, 1946-)  
 RIS L.A. Muratori, *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores* (Milan, 1723-51), 25 vols.

- RIS NS *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, New Edition, ed. V. Fiorini and G. Carducci (Città di Castello and Bologna, 1900-).  
 ROL *Revue de l'Orient Latin* (Paris, 1893-)  
 RS *Rolls Series - Rerum Britannicarum Medii Aevi Scriptores* (London, 1858-96), 251 vols.  
 SRO Somerset Record Office, Taunton.  
 STC A.W. Pollard and G.R. Redgrave, *Short Title Catalogue of English Books ... 1475-1640*, 2nd revised edition, ed. W.A. Jackson, F.A. Ferguson and K.F. Panter (London, 1976), 2 vols.  
 Th Θησαυρίσματα (Venice, 1962-).  
 TRHS *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* (London, 1869-).  
 VG M. Vögel and V. Gardthausen, *Die griechischen Schreiber des Mittelalters und der Renaissance* (Leipzig, 1909).  
 WRO Wiltshire County Record Office, Trowbridge.



## Introduction

### THE SOURCES AND THEIR INTERPRETATION

A wide variety of contemporary writers provide evidence about the movement of Greek emigres into Western Europe during the fifteenth century. From Byzantine chroniclers we hear of important political figures, like the cardinals, Bessarion and Isidore, and the last despot of the Morea, Thomas Palaeologus who all took up residence in Rome<sup>1</sup>. The letters and memoirs of Italian scholars give a picture of how learned Byzantines like John Argyropoulos and Andronicus Callistus arrived in Italy, bringing with them classical Greek texts and the skill of interpreting them<sup>2</sup>.

This wealth of evidence has been exploited in more recent works which have been devoted wholly or partly to this question. Not surprisingly, however, these works tend to reflect the concerns of their sources, concentrating almost exclusively on the scholars and on the high profile, political and ecclesiastical figures, and on Italy as their place of refuge<sup>3</sup>.

In 1929, however, a radical departure was taken by Howard Gray when he published an article on this subject based on a very different type of contemporary source: the English treasury Issue Rolls for the year 1455-6, from the Public Record Office in London. There he discovered the names of four individuals of Greek origin, all recorded as having received gifts from the English Exchequer. One was probably the famous

<sup>1</sup> Laonikos Chalcocondyles, *Historiarum Libri Decem*, ed. I. Bekker, CSHB (Bonn, 1843), bk. VIII, p. 399; George Sphrantzes, *Memorii (Chronicon Minus)*, ed. V. Grecu (Bucharest, 1966), bk. XLI, ch. 2-8, pp. 124-6.

<sup>2</sup> See for example: Vespasiano da Bisticci, *The Vespasiano Memoirs*, trans. W. George and E. Waters (London, 1926), pp. 243, 274; Francesco Filelfo, *Epistolae* (Phorca, 1506), bk. XIV, kalends January 1461.

<sup>3</sup> Some examples are: W. Miller, 'Balkan exiles in Rome', *Essays on the Latin Orient* (Cambridge, 1921), pp. 497-515; S. Runciman, *The Fall of Constantinople* (Cambridge, 1965), pp. XI, 181-7; D.J. Geanakoplos, *Greek Scholars in Venice* (Cambridge, Mass., 1962); D.M. Nicol, *The Last Centuries of Byzantium, 1261-1453* (Cambridge, 1993, 2nd ed.), pp. 399-401; D.A. Zakythinos, *Le despotat grec de Morée*, vol. 1 (London, 1975), pp. 290-7.



scholar, John Argyropoulos, but the identity of the other three remains open to conjecture<sup>4</sup>.

Gray's discovery was of great significance for the study of Greek emigres in the fifteenth century because by supplementing the chronicles and literary sources with an archival source he opened the way for an investigation of those who were not prominent scholars or members of the Byzantine royal family. He also showed that they were by no means confined to only to Italy. Yet since he wrote no one has attempted to build on his work by making a deeper investigation into Western European archive collections for information on this subject. Some authors, it is true, have uncovered further evidence, similar to that discussed by Gray, but it is only exploited in passing, in works devoted to some other subject<sup>5</sup>. This work is an attempt to supply that deficiency by making a deeper investigation into late medieval archival records.

There is, in fact, abundant, relevant material in archive collections throughout Europe. First and foremost are those in Italy. The vast holdings of the Archivio di Stato in Venice contain much material about the city's Greek community, the largest in Europe. Much of this is to be found in the records of the deliberations of the Senate, the *Deliberationes Mixtae* or simply *Misti*<sup>6</sup>. Scarcely less important are the *Misti* of the Council of Ten (*Consiglio dei Dieci*) who sat in judgement on cases involving state security. Greeks often featured in these cases and the *Misti* provide all kinds of incidental details about them<sup>7</sup>. The *Secreta* of the Senate give numerous insights into diplomatic relations between Venice and Byzantium up to 1460. The *Privilegi* preserve examples of grants of Venetian citizenship to Greeks. The notarial deeds of the *Cancelleria Inferiore* give an insight into the activities of Greeks as merchants. Finally, as far as Venice is concerned, the Greek community's own records survive in the Archivio della chiesa di San Giorgio dei Greci.

<sup>4</sup> H.L. Gray, 'Greek visitors to England in 1455-6', *Anniversary Essays in Medieval History by Students of Charles Homer Haskins*, ed. C.H. Taylor (Boston, 1929), pp. 81-116. The documents examined by Gray were PRO E403/806 and 807.

<sup>5</sup> See, for example: C. Marinesco, 'Notes sur quelques ambassadeurs byzantins en occident à la veille de la chute de Constantinople sous les Turcs', *Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales et Slaves*, 10 (1950), 419-28.

<sup>6</sup> After 1440 these were divided into *Terra* and *Mar*, according to whether the deliberations concerned the Republic's interests on land or sea.

<sup>7</sup> ASV Consiglio dei Dieci, *Misti* reg. 22, f. 176 (orig. 140), for example, lists among the accomplices of the Albanian smuggler, Peter Zancus: 'Zorzi Griego sta a San Baxeio in la corte nuova da cha molin', 'Antonio mariner sta in caxa de esso Zorzi Griego', 'Macri Griego', 'Stamati Griego' and 'Zuan Griego'.

Scarcely less important are the Papal archives in Rome, housed in the Archivio Segreto Vaticano and in the Archivio di Stato. These are, to a large extent, preserved in the original and are remarkably complete. The records of the Papal treasury or Apostolic Camera, for example, still include the *Libri dei Mandati* which formed a record of authorizations for payment, the *Depositaria Generale della Crociata* which dealt with the revenues of the Papal alum mines at Tolfa, and the *Introitus et Exitus* books which kept account of general receipts and expenses. The *Registri Vaticani* and *Registri Laterenses* preserved copies of Papal letters<sup>8</sup>. These Roman documents have much information on Byzantine refugees similar to that encountered by Gray in the English Issue Rolls, recording payments of alms to them and letters of indulgence and safe-conduct issued on their behalf<sup>9</sup>.

A great deal of material also survives outside Italy. Among French libraries and archives, the Bibliothèque Nationale and the Archives Nationales in Paris and the Archives Départementales du Nord and du Seine-maritime housed at Lille and Rouen have contributed much information to this study. The most important sources in the Bibliothèque are the extracts from the issue and receipt rolls of the French treasury, although they exist only in seventeenth or eighteenth century copies and are not complete<sup>10</sup> and at the Archives Nationales there are numerous documents of relevance among the *Trésor des Chartes* (series J) and *Chambre des Comptes* (series P). At Lille are preserved the records of the *Chambre des Comptes* (Series B) of the town, one of the most important in the duchy of Burgundy, and at Rouen the customs accounts of the *Vicomté de l'Eau* (Series B). The same type of references occur in the French material as are to be found in Rome. In twenty folios of one register from Lille for 1455, for example, twelve Byzantine refugees were

<sup>8</sup> By an accident of history, the *Libri dei Mandati* are preserved in the Archivio di Stato and not in the Archivio Segreto like the rest of the Papal archives. They were housed outside the Vatican when Italian troops captured Rome in 1870 and so became the property of the Italian state.

<sup>9</sup> Some examples are: ASR MC 832, f.4v; ASVat *Introitus et Exitus* 453, f. 189 (orig. 191); Reg. Vat. 504, f. 272v; Reg. Vat. 506, ff. 40-40v; Reg. Vat. 666, f. 398v (orig. 396v). The full text of ASVat Reg. Vat. 472, f. 334v (orig. 332v) is reproduced below, Appendix I, below p. 191.

<sup>10</sup> BN mss français 20685; 32263; 32511 (Cabinet de Titres 685). That they are incomplete can be deduced from the fact that the seventeenth century historian Du Cange, who had access to the originals, cites numerous relevant entries in the treasury records which are not to be found in the copies: C. du Fresne du Cange, *Historia Byzantina* (Paris, 1682), pp. 238, 241, 255.



recorded as being in receipt of alms from the duke of Burgundy. No less than eleven of them appear on just two folios of the *computations* of the French treasury for the same period<sup>11</sup>.

Even in Howard Gray's starting point, the Public Record Office in London, there is much more evidence than just the four names he discovered. Besides the *Issue Rolls* (E403) used by Gray, the *Warrants for Issues* (E404) are particularly useful. In one dated 1 May 1458, for example, Henry VI ordered his treasurer to pay '... unto certain estraungiers of the parties of Greek, called Emmanuel Theodore and Gregorie Priore, XL shillings to be taken in redy money in way of alms'<sup>12</sup>. *Treaty Rolls* (C76) and *Warrants for the Great Seal* (C81-2) contain safe-conducts and licences to gather alms, given to Greek refugees. The records of the tax known as the *Alien Subsidy* (E179), the *Customs Accounts* (E122) and number of *Early Chancery Pleas* (C1) are also of importance<sup>13</sup>.

The English material is by no means restricted to the Public Record Office. Occasional relevant documents turn up in the British Museum, the Guildhall Library and various local record offices. An episcopal register preserved at Taunton has a letter of indulgence on behalf of John Stauracios of Constantinople<sup>14</sup> and similar letters appear in the registers of the dioceses of Ely, Salisbury and York<sup>15</sup>.

There is, therefore, no shortage of evidence in Western European archives on the Greeks who arrived in the fifteenth century. Interpreting this evidence, however, is not always easy. In the first place the documents involved tend to be administrative ones, account rolls recording gifts of money or stylised letters of indulgence and safe-conduct

<sup>11</sup> ADN B2020, ff. 346-356; BN ms français 32511 (Cabinet de Titres 685), ff. 175-175v.  
<sup>12</sup> PRO E404/71/3/67. Other Warrants for issues in favour of Greeks include: PRO E404/70/2/39; E404/70/3/43; E404/70/3/66; E404/71/1/31; E404/71/3/52; E404/71/5/22 and E404/81/1.

<sup>13</sup> A detailed analysis of the evidence from the Alien Subsidy Records, Customs Accounts and Chancery Pleas can be found in Chapter 1 below p. 34ff.  
<sup>14</sup> SRO D/D/B6, f. 246 (orig. 246v); *The Register of Thomas Bekynton*, ed. H.C. Maxwell-Lyte and M.C.B. Dawes, vol. 1, Somerset Record Society, 49 (Frome and London, 1934), no. 1254, p. 330.

<sup>15</sup> CUL EDR G/1/5, ff. 5v-6, 74v; G/1/6, f. 21; WRO Register of Richard Beauchamp (1450-81), vol. 1, 2nd series, ff. 43v-44; BI Reg. 20, ff. 167-168 (full text in Appendix II, below p. 193); Reg. 21, ff. 7A-7Av; John Rylands Library, Manchester ms Latin 333, ff. 63v-64. A full list of the archival sources consulted for this study may be found in the bibliography, below p. 205.

passes. These seldom give many details about the beneficiaries apart from their names, where they were from and why they were in need of alms.

Moreover, such information as is given is not always accurate. Because the names of the refugees were foreign and unfamiliar, they often ended up hopelessly garbled. 'Dunty Carsafry' and 'Senas Gevor' who visited Brabant and Louvain would be unrecognisable as Greeks if the entry did not mention that they were from Constantinople<sup>16</sup>. Furthermore, it is only too probable that an individual whose name was spelt one way in one town might appear in a different guise in another. It is, therefore, impossible to use these sources to compile accurate statistical information.

As a result, this work cannot aim to make a systematic prosopographical study of the type currently being undertaken at Vienna under the editorship of E. Trapp<sup>17</sup>, since it is not usually possible to make any positive identification of any one refugee mentioned in archival sources with an individual known to have been residing in Constantinople in 1453<sup>18</sup>. Howard Gray highlighted this difficulty in his attempt to learn the identity of the Demetrius Palaeologus who appeared in the 1455-6 Issue Roll. Although he established that this person was not the contemporary despot of the Morea of the same name, he was unable to find any clue in Byzantine sources as to who the visitor to England really was<sup>19</sup>.

<sup>16</sup> ADN B2020, ff. 355-356.

<sup>17</sup> *Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit*, ed. E. Trapp et al. (Vienna, 1976-).

<sup>18</sup> There are exceptions. The two brothers Demetrius and Michael Leontaris, who were in Mantua and Brussels in 1459-62 were almost certainly the Demetrius and Michael Leontaris born in Constantinople on 12 November 1418 and 23 May 1426 respectively: ASVat Reg. Vat. 471, f. 202v; ADN B2045, f. 274v; *Die Byzantinischen Kleinchroniken*, ed. P. Schreiner, *CFHB* 12, vol. 1 (Vienna, 1975), p. 644 and below pp. 73, 125.

<sup>19</sup> Gray, 'Greek visitors', pp. 86-7 where it is established that Demetrius Palaeologus, the brother of the last emperor, Constantine XI, cannot have been in England 1455 because a letter written to him by Alfonso V of Aragon dated November 1455 addresses him as if he were still in the Morea: F. Cerone, 'La politica orientale di Alfonso di Aragona', *ASPN*, 28 (1903), 188. For discussions of various individuals with similar names see: D.M. Nicol, *The Byzantine Family of Kantakouzenos (Cantacuzenus), c. 1100-1460* (Washington D.C., 1968), no. 75, pp. 192-5; A.T. Papadopoulos, *Versuch einer Genealogie der Palaiologen* (Munich, 1938), no. 170, p. 90; E. Brayer, P. Lemerle and V. Laurent, 'Le Vaticanus Latinus 4789: histoire et alliances des Cantacuzenes aux XIVe et XVe siècles', *REB*, 9 (1951), 47-105, esp. 99; D.M. Nicol, 'The Byzantine family of Dermokaites, c. 940-1453', *Byzantinoslavica*, 35 (1974), no. 21, 9.



Similarly, just as this work cannot claim to be a prosopographical study, neither can it be considered as a general history of Greek immigration into the West in the fifteenth century and of the communities established there. The sheer size of the archival evidence available means that such a work could hardly be written at the present time. Much deeper research would have to be done into the development of the Greek community in Venice which was where the majority of the immigrants congregated. Others have carried some research of this type in Venice and, for the time being, the reader is referred to their writings<sup>20</sup>.

This book concentrates on rather narrower themes than those discussed above, seeking to use archival evidence, of the type first revealed by Gray, to examine three specific areas. In doing so it is hoped that certain common views which centre around these emigres and the society from which they came will be modified.

In the first place, there is the simple question of why these people should choose to go to the West, rather than to areas inhabited by their fellow Greeks or by Orthodox co-religionists, and what they hoped to achieve by going there. The very presence of these people, not only in Italy but also in areas remote from their own land, suggests that the Byzantines of the fifteenth century, far from being stubbornly ignorant and hostile, knew more about the West than is often thought. It also indicates that anti-Greek sentiments among Westerners had subsided to some extent. These are the main concerns of chapter II.

The second question concerns what they did to support themselves once they were there, assuming that they settled permanently. Chapter III examines their varied activities in their adopted countries, especially military service, mercantile trade and the Church. It challenges the very negative portrayal of many of the immigrants in modern works, where they often appear as worthless parasites and gives a different view of some of the important political figures.

Finally, the question of the activities of the refugees is taken further in the final three chapters and it is asked whether Byzantine emigres could have contributed anything to economic, technological and educational developments in the West, not only in the well studied sphere of the diffusion of classical texts in Italy but also in other respects and in other areas of Europe.

(Venice, 1893); J.G. Ducas,  
of London Ph.D. thesis (1985).

Venice (1470-1620), University

However, before the new evidence discovered in European archives can be brought to bear on these questions, the background to the subject has to be established, particularly the causes of the exodus to the West, how many people came and where they settled. Here too evidence from archives has much to contribute.



## CHAPTER ONE

### *Causes and Extent*

This chapter seeks to make a tentative assessment of how numerous and widespread were the Greek refugees who appeared in Western Europe during the fifteenth century, and to discover whether they were a permanent or transitory phenomenon. Before that can be done, however, it is necessary first to examine the broader historical aspects of the question, in order to put the western evidence in its proper context and to establish why the exodus to the West took place. To do this developments which took place outside Western Europe and long before 1400 need to be considered.

#### 1. The situation in the East

Ever since the Seljuk victory at the battle of Manzikert in 1071, Turkish invaders had been conquering and colonising areas of the Byzantine Empire. Between the eleventh and fourteenth centuries they brought the whole of Asia Minor, once the empire's heartland, under their rule. While the reaction of much of the Greek population was simply to stay and accommodate itself to the new regime and even convert to Islam<sup>1</sup>, many preferred to flee from the inevitable destruction and upheaval to areas still

<sup>1</sup> George Pachymeres, *De Michdeto*, ed. ... *etnologo*, ed. I. Bekker, *CSHB* (Bonn, 1835), vol. 1, pp. 221-3; Ducas, *Historia Byzantina*, ed. I. Bekker, *CSHB* (Bonn, 1834), ch. XXII, pp. 122-4, ch. XLI, p. 311; John Cinnamos, *Rerum ab Ioanne et Alexio (sic) Comnenis Gestarum*, ed. A. Meineke, *CSHB* (Bonn, 1836), pp. 57, 299; Anna Comnena, *Alexiad*, ed. L. Schopen, bk. VII, ch. 8, vol. 1, *CSHB* (Bonn, 1838), p. 361; E.A. Zachariadou, 'Notes sur la population de l'Asie Mineure turque au XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle', *Byzantinische Forschungen*, 12 (1987), 223-31, esp. 229-31; S. Vryonis, *The Decline of Medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor and the Process of Islamization from the Eleventh through the Fifteenth Century* (Los Angeles, 1971), p. 231, 341-2, 351-402.



under Christian rule<sup>2</sup>. The result was that many areas of Asia Minor once populated by Greeks had, by the fourteenth century, become deserted<sup>3</sup>.

At first, none of this had much effect on Western Europe. The obvious destination for the refugees from Asia Minor was the Byzantine capital, Constantinople, secure behind its natural defences. This put an immense strain on the city's supplies and accommodation. A Catalan eye-witness recorded that many of these fugitives were forced to live on the rubbish tips and so many arrived in the opening years of the fourteenth century that the city faced starvation<sup>4</sup>. Nevertheless, for the time being Constantinople provided a haven of sorts.

In the middle of the fourteenth century, however, the situation changed. In 1354, an earthquake levelled the European side of the Bosphorus, and every

not prevent the Turks on the European side from becoming increasingly united under Ottoman leadership or from capturing Adrianople in 1369<sup>5</sup>, so cutting off the Byzantine capital by land. When Sultan Yildirim Bayezid (1389-1402) embarked on a full scale siege of Constantinople in 1394, there could be no further doubt: the city's capture was a distinct possibility<sup>6</sup>.

In the event, Constantinople did not fall into Turkish hands in the opening years of the fifteenth century. Bayezid unwisely provoked the Mongol ruler, Timur, and suffered a catastrophic defeat at Ankara in 1402. The subsequent civil war between Bayezid's sons also worked in Byzantium's favour and even when the Ottoman domains were reunited under one ruler, Mehmed I (1413-21), the new sultan refrained from moving against Constantinople<sup>7</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> Laonicos Chalcocondyles, *Historiarum Libri Decem*, ed. I. Bekker, CS<sup>III</sup> (Bohn, 1843), bk. VIII, p. 399; George Sphrantzes, *Memorii (Chronicon Minus)*, ed. V. Grecu (Bucharest, 1966), bk. XLI, ch. 2-8, pp. 124-6.

<sup>2</sup> See for example: Vespasiano da Bisticci, *The Vespasiano Memoirs*, trans. W. George and E. Waters (London, 1926), pp. 243, 274; Francesco Filelfo, *Epistolae* (Phorca, 1506), bk. XIV, kalends January 1461.

<sup>3</sup> Some examples are: W. Miller, 'Balkan exiles in Rome', *Essays on the Latin Orient* (Cambridge, 1921), pp. 497-515; S. Runciman, *The Fall of Constantinople* (Cambridge, 1965), pp. XI, 181-7; D.J. Geanakoplos, *Greek Scholars in Venice* (Cambridge, Mass., 1962); D.M. Nicol, *The Last Centuries of Byzantium, 1261-1453* (Cambridge, 1993, 2nd ed.), pp. 399-401; D.A. Zakythinos, *Le despotat grec de Morée*, vol. 1 (London, 1975), pp. 290-7.



under Christian rule<sup>2</sup>. The result was that many areas of Asia Minor once populated by Greeks had, by the fourteenth century, become deserted<sup>3</sup>.

At first, none of this had much effect on Western Europe. The obvious destination for the refugees from Asia Minor was the Byzantine capital, Constantinople, secure behind its natural defences. This put an immense strain on the city's supplies and accommodation. A Catalan eye-witness recorded that many of these fugitives were forced to live on the rubbish tips and so many arrived in the opening years of the fourteenth century that the city faced starvation<sup>4</sup>. Nevertheless, for the time being Constantinople provided a haven of sorts.

In the middle of the fourteenth century, however, the situation changed. When, on the night of 2 March 1354, an earthquake levelled the walls of Gallipoli, a Byzantine town on the European side of the Dardanelles, Suleiman, the son of Orhan, the emir of the Osmanli or Ottoman Turks, was able to ferry his troops across the straits and occupy it<sup>5</sup>. The implications of the Turkish presence in Europe may not have been immediately apparent to contemporaries, especially as the Byzantines regained control of Gallipoli between 1366 and 1377<sup>6</sup>. However, this did

Comnena, bk. XIV, vol. 2, pp. 249-50; Nicephorus Gregoras, *Historia Byzantina*, ed. L. Schopen, *CSHB*, vol. 1 (Bonn, 1829), p. 142; Pachymeres, vol. 2, pp. 335-7, 443-5.

<sup>3</sup> Anna Comnena, bk. XV, ch. 4, vol. 2, p. 330; *MM*, vol. 6, pp. 81-90, esp. p. 88, lines 22-9; Manuel II Palaeologus, *Letters*, ed. and trans. G.T. Dennis, *CFHB* 8 (Washington D.C., 1977), no. 16, p. 44; Pachymeres, vol. 1, pp. 244-50, 310-11; Ibn Battuta, *The Travels*, trans. H.A.R. Gibb, vol. 2, *Hakluyt Society*, 2nd series, 117 (Cambridge, 1962), p. 453.

<sup>4</sup> Ramon Muntaner, *Chronicle*, trans. A. Goodenough, vol. 2, *Hakluyt Society*, 2nd series, 50 (London, 1921), p. 491; Athanasius I, *Correspondence*, ed. and trans. A.M. Talbot, *CFHB* 7 (Washington D.C., 1975), no. 22, p. 52; Pachymeres, vol. 2, p. 335; Vryonis, *Decline*, p. 255; A. Laiou, 'The provisioning of Constantinople in the winter of 1306-7', *Byzantion*, 37 (1967), 97-113.

<sup>5</sup> A. Philippidis-Braat, 'La captivité de Palamas chez les Turcs: dossier et commentaire', *Travaux et Mémoires*, 7 (1979), 109-221, esp. 211-13; Matteo Villani, *Istorie*, *RIS* 14 (Milan, 1729), bk. IX, ch. 40, col. 567; G. Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State*, trans. J.M. Hussey (Oxford, 1968, 2nd ed.), pp. 530-1.

<sup>6</sup> Demetrius Cydones, *Correspondance*, ed. and trans. G. Cammelli (Paris, 1930), no. 25, pp. 58-60; J. Chrysostomides, 'Studies on the Chronicle of Caroldo with special reference to the history of the Palaeologoi and the Ottoman Turks', *Byzantion*, 16 (1942-3), 286-314, esp. 296-8; Ostrogorsky, *History*, p. 543; Beldiceanu-Steinherr, P. Charanis, 'The strife among the sultans Osman, Orhan et Murad I (Munich, 1967). See also the review of this work by V.L. Ménage in *Bulletin of the School of*

not prevent the Turks on the European side from becoming increasingly united under Ottoman leadership or from capturing Adrianople in 1369<sup>7</sup>, so cutting off the Byzantine capital by land. When Sultan Yildirim Bayezid (1389-1402) embarked on a full scale siege of Constantinople in 1394, there could be no further doubt: the city's capture was a distinct possibility<sup>8</sup>.

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*Oriental and African Studies*, 34 (1971), 153-5.

<sup>7</sup> E.A. Zachariadou, 'The conquest of Adrianople by the Turks', *Studi Veneziani*, 12 (1970), 211-17 where it is shown that the date 1362, given in many modern works, is too early. On the Ottomans see now: W.L. Langer and R.P. Blake, 'The rise of the Ottoman Turks and its historical background', *American Historical Review*, 37 (1932), 468-505; Nicol, *Last Centuries*, pp. 144-7; B. Lindner, *Nomads and Ottomans in Medieval Anatolia* (Bloomington, 1983).

<sup>8</sup> On Bayezid's change of policy, announced to his vassals at Serres during the winter of 1393-4 see: Manuel II Palaeologus, *Funeral Oration on his Brother Theodore*, ed. and trans. J. Chrysostomides, *CFHB* 26 (Thessalonica, 1985), pp. 18, 137-53; Ostrogorsky, *History*, pp. 549-50; R-J. Loenertz, 'Pour l'histoire du Péloponèse au XIVe siècle (1382-1404)', *REB*, 1 (1943), 152-96, esp. 172-81.

<sup>9</sup> P. Wittek, 'De la défaite d'Ankara à la prise de Constantinople', *Revue des Études Islamiques*, 12 (1938), 1-34; J.W. Barker, *Manuel II Palaeologus (1391-1425): A Study in Late Byzantine Statesmanship* (New Brunswick, 1969), pp. 200-89; E.A. Zachariadou, 'Süleyman Çelebi in Rumeli and the Ottoman chronicles', *Der Islam*, 60 (1983), 268-96.

<sup>10</sup> Manuel II, *Letters*, no. 68, p. 217; George Sphrantzes, *Memorii (Chronicon Minus)*, ed. V. Grecu (Bucharest, 1966), bk. VII, ch. 1, p. 8; M. Balivet, 'Un épisode méconnu de la campagne de Mehmed I en Macedoine', *Turcica*, 18 (1986), 137-46.



angered by a Byzantine attempt to set up a pretender to the throne, 'Düzme' Mustafa, in his place<sup>11</sup>.

As a consequence of the direct threat to Constantinople, not only did the movement of Greeks into safer areas continue but those faced with Turkish attacks began to look elsewhere for asylum. They began to enter the areas of Greece ruled by Venice, particularly Crete<sup>12</sup>. Numbers increased as the pressure from the Turks grew. Many of the inhabitants of Thessalonica fled to the Venetian colonies in the early fifteenth century, in the face of sporadic attacks which culminated in the city's capture by Murad II in 1430<sup>13</sup>. At the time of Bayezid's siege of Constantinople arrangements were even made for the reception of the emperor's brother, Theodore, in Venetian territory<sup>14</sup>.

It was, however, the fall of Constantinople to the armies of Sultan Mehmed II (1451-81) on 29 May 1453 which unleashed the most extensive migration. There were two principle reasons why this should have been so.

In the first place, there was the huge scale of the disaster and the large numbers of people affected by it. Some four thousand people were killed<sup>15</sup> but many more were adversely affected. When the Turks overcame the defence of the city, a fortunate few managed to escape in

<sup>11</sup> Sphrantzes, bk. VIII, ch. 3-bk. IX, ch. 4, pp. 12-14; Ducas, ch. XXIII-VII, pp. 129-81; Ostrogorsky, *History*, pp. 559-60.

<sup>12</sup> The monastery of Patmos, for instance, sent thirty eight of its serfs to Crete so that they might be under Venetian protection: E.A. Zachariadou, 'Holy war in the Aegean during the fourteenth century', *Mediterranean Historical Review*, 4 (1989), 212-25, esp. 217; J. Chrysostomides, 'Merchant versus nobles: a sensational court case in the Peloponnese', *Πρακτικά τοῦ Δ' διεθνoῦς συνεδρίου πελοποννησιακῶν σπουδῶν*, vol. 2 (Athens, 1993), pp. 116-34, esp. pp. 127-8.

<sup>13</sup> F. Thiriet, *Régestes des délibérations du sénat de Venise concernant la Roumanie*, vol. 2 (Paris, 1959), pp. 138, 150; Sphrantzes, bk. XXI, ch. 2, p. 48; Ducas, ch. XXIX, pp. 197-205; S. Vryonis, 'The Ottoman conquest of Thessaloniki in 1430', *Continuity and Change in Late Byzantine and Early Ottoman Society*, ed. A.A.M. Bryer and H. Lowry (Birmingham, 1986), pp. 281-321; K.M. Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant (1204-1571)*, vol. 2 (Philadelphia, 1978), pp. 19-31. Their fears were well founded. When the city did fall, the Turks systematically killed all those who were too old or sick to be of any value as slaves: John Anagnostes, *De Extremo Thessalonicensi Excidio*, ed. I. Bekker, *CSHB* (Bonn, 1838), pp. 509-10.

<sup>14</sup> ASV Senato, Misti reg. 44, f. 145v.

<sup>15</sup> Critoboulos, *Historiae*, ed. D.R. Rheinsch, *CFHB* 22 (Berlin and New York, 1983), bk. I, ch. 67, p. 75; Niccolò Barbaro, *Diary of the Siege of Constantinople, 1453*, trans. J.R. Jones (New York, 1969), p. 67.

Venetian and Genoese ships but the majority were left behind<sup>16</sup>. According to the historian Critoboulos, fifty thousand were taken prisoner and enslaved. Although this figure has been thought to be exaggerated<sup>17</sup>, it may not be so very excessive in view of the very small proportion of the inhabitants who succeeded in escaping. Of those remaining few could have escaped capture since as far as the victors were concerned prisoners were an important part of the plunder. While the poorer captives could be sold as slaves, the more wealthy could be held to ransom for a sum befitting their status<sup>18</sup>.

Secondly, there was the deep psychological impact of the catastrophe. The Byzantines had always regarded Constantinople as the 'God-guarded city' and as the seat of the rightful emperor of all Christians and for them the real disaster of 1453 lay in the eradication of their view of the world. Among the dead was the emperor, Constantine XI, the legitimate successor of Constantine the Great. With him ended the link between the Byzantines and the Roman past, on which they had based their claims to represent the one true Christian empire. The cathedral of Hagia Sophia, the symbol of their Orthodox faith, was converted into a mosque, its treasures looted and its icons hacked to pieces<sup>19</sup>. The severe shock and grief occasioned by the loss of the city, as expressed in

<sup>16</sup> Ducas, ch. XXXIX, p. 296; Barbaro, *Diary*, pp. 70-1; R. Browning, 'A note on the capture of Constantinople in 1453', *Byzantion*, 22 (1952), 379-87; K.D. Mertziou, 'Περὶ τῶν ἐκ Κωνσταντινουπόλεως διαφυγόντων τῷ 1453 Παλαιολόγων', *Actes du XIIe Congrès International d'Études Byzantines. Ochrid, 10-16 sept. 1961*, vol. 2 (Belgrade, 1964), pp. 171-6.

<sup>17</sup> Critoboulos, bk. I, ch. 67, p. 75. See the estimates of Setton, *Papacy and Levant*, vol. 2, p. 133; Runciman, *Fall*, p. 147, n. 2.

<sup>18</sup> For the twenty nine Venetian nobles who were taken alive, amounts of two thousand, one thousand or eight hundred ducats were demanded, while a merchant from Zara in Croatia who was taken along with his wife and children had to find money for their release as well as his own: ASVat Reg. Vat. 468, ff. 287-287v; A. Theiner, *Vetera Monumenta Slavorum Meridionalium*, vol. 1 (Rome, 1863), no. DCXXIV, p. 442; Barbaro, *Diary*, p. 72; Leonard of Chios, *Historia Constantinopolitanae Urbis a Mahumete II Captae*, PG 159, col. 943. According to Ducas, many Turks were rather disgruntled after the battle was over, regretting that they had killed so many people, instead of taking prisoners: Ducas, ch. XXXIX, pp. 287-8, 291-4.

<sup>19</sup> Ducas, ch. XXXIX, pp. 288, 292, ch. XL, p. 299. For a summary of the conflicting accounts of Constantine's death see: D.M. Nicol, *The Immortal Emperor* (Cambridge, 1992), pp. 74-94.



numerous Greek laments<sup>20</sup>, must have played a part in impelling its inhabitants to quit rather than live on under the new regime, in spite of Mehmed II's policy of trying to encourage them to return and settle after his victory<sup>21</sup>.

One of those who left was George Sphrantzes, a Byzantine official and personal friend of the Emperor Constantine, who left a first hand account of what befell him and his family. He had to endure slavery until September but then he was ransomed and freed and a year later he was able to procure his wife's freedom at Adrianople. His children, however, who had been sold to the sultan's household, were never redeemed. His daughter, Tamar, died of an infectious disease in the harem in 1455, while his son John, so he claims, was killed by Mehmed II because it was believed that the boy was plotting against the sultan's life<sup>22</sup>.

Many others had similar experiences. Some were lucky. One victim was able to leave the city when his brother-in-law paid his ransom, another was freed at Skopje when John Mamali purchased him from some Turks. Several members of the Chrysoloras family were freed when their kinsman, the Milanese courtier, Francesco Filelfo, wrote to the sultan on their behalf<sup>23</sup>.

Others lacked such wealthy benefactors and appealed to their fellow countrymen who were holding office under the sultan. Nicolas Isidoros, who was serving as a judge at Adrianople, received several such petitions. The clergy of Gallipoli asked for help in ransoming a priest who had been enslaved under a harsh master who refused to let him go for less than a very high sum. Since his fellow-clergy could not afford to pay, they appealed to the judge to lend them the money. Another supplicant, who signed himself simply 'Demetrius the unfortunate' approached

<sup>20</sup> See, for example: Andronicus Callistus, *Monodia de Constantinopoli Capta*, PG 161, cols. 1131-42; Θρήνος της Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, *Medieval Greek Texts*, ed. W. Wagner (London, 1870), pp. 141-70.

<sup>21</sup> For his letter of 26 April 1454 inviting Byzantine nobles to return and serve under him see: *MM*, vol. 3, p. 290; H. Inalcik, 'The policy of Mehmed II towards the Greek population of Istanbul and the Byzantine buildings of the city', *DOP*, 23-4 (1969-70), 231-49, esp. 233.

<sup>22</sup> Sphrantzes, bk. XXXV, ch. 11-12, p. 98; bk. XXXVII, ch. 3, p. 104; bk. XXXVII, ch. 6, p. 106; bk. XXXVII, ch. 9, p. 106.

<sup>23</sup> BN ms grec 465, f. 174v; Eusebius, *Praeparatio Evangelica*, ed. K. Mras, vol. 1 (Berlin, 1954), p. XXII; B. Krekić, *Dubrovnik (Raguse) et le Levant au moyen âge* (Paris, 1961), no. 1390, p. 402; *Cent dix lettres grecques de François Filelfe*, ed. E. Legrand (Paris, 1892), pp. 63-4.

Nicolas in the hope that he would supply him with gifts to appease the eunuch who was the master of his parents and children<sup>24</sup>.

In the months and years which followed the fall of Constantinople a steady stream left the city, as captives obtained their freedom in one way or another. Many went to those areas still under Byzantine rule or inhabited by Orthodox Christians. George Sphrantzes and Franculios Servopoulos, went to the Morea (Peloponnese) where the brothers of the late Emperor Constantine, Demetrius and Thomas Palaeologus, maintained a precarious independence<sup>25</sup>. The Orthodox lands to the north also took in their co-religionists. On the orders of the Despot George Branković, the Serbian ambassadors at Adrianople ransomed many Byzantine prisoners who then went to live in Serbia. John Rhaoul Palaeologus took his entire family to Russia from Constantinople and many others did the same<sup>26</sup>. Bishop Samuel and his followers walked from Constantinople to Wallachia after the capture of their city to warn the Christians there that an attack on their country was soon to be mounted by the Turks<sup>27</sup>.

Many preferred to make for the security offered by the protection of Venice. Once again, Crete was the favoured destination. Among the first to arrive after the fall of Constantinople were a shipload of nobles who had escaped at the last moment and two hundred of the inhabitants of the island of Limnos along with their wives and children, who had fled on hearing news of the disaster<sup>28</sup>. They were followed by many others, including the family of the future scholar, Janus Lascaris, and Filelfo's

<sup>24</sup> J. Darrouzès, 'Lettres de 1453', *REB*, 22 (1964), 72-127, esp. 80-4, 90-2.

<sup>25</sup> Sphrantzes, bk. XXXV, ch. 11-12, p. 98. Servopoulos was in Constantinople in 1451 and he reappears at Mistra in 1454: Ubertino Pusculo, *Constantinopoleos Libri IV*, ed. A. Ellissen, *Analekten der Mittel und Neugriechischen Literatur*, vol. 3 (Leipzig, 1857), bk. II, p. 37, line 543; Cerone, 'La politica orientale', *ASPN*, 27 (1902), 823. On Servopoulos in the service of Demetrius Palaeologus at Mistra, see below p. 47.

<sup>26</sup> Ducas, ch. XLII, pp. 314-15; *The Nikonian Chronicle*, ed. S.A. Zenkovsky, trans. S.A. and B.J. Zenkovsky, vol. 5 (Princeton, 1989), p. 220; I. Martynov, *Annus Ecclesiasticus Greco-Slavicus* (Brussels, 1863), p. 134; R. Croskey, 'Byzantine Greeks in late fifteenth and early sixteenth century Russia', *The Byzantine Legacy in Eastern Europe*, ed. L. Clucas (New York, 1988), pp. 33-56.

<sup>27</sup> C. Halm and W. Meyer, *Catalogus Codicum Manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Regiae Monacensis*, vol. 4, pt. 1 (Munich, 1874), no. 759 (9503), p. 93; N. Iorga, *Notes et extraits pour servir à l'histoire des croisades au XVe siècle*, vol. 4 (Bucharest, 1915), pp. 65-8.

<sup>28</sup> Critoboulos, bk. I, ch. 75.5, p. 86; Mertzius, 'Περὶ τῶν ἐκ Κωνσταντινουπόλεως διαφυγόντων', p. 172.



relatives of the Chrysoloras family<sup>29</sup>. Such was the size of the influx, both to Crete and Corfu, that by 1461 Venetian government was becoming alarmed lest this growth of the subject population should lead to rebellion<sup>30</sup>.

Latin-ruled Cyprus also received large numbers. They were welcomed there because the wife of king John II Lusignan, Helena Palaeologina, was a niece of Constantine XI. She was appalled by the news of the fall of Constantinople and gave orders for a monastery to be built to house monks who had escaped from the city. According to oral tradition others made their way to the island of Thasos where they founded their own villages<sup>31</sup>.

However, the migration was confined neither to those areas which were close to Constantinople nor only to those which were inhabited by large numbers of Greeks or Orthodox Christians. Before long the tide of refugees had reached the Catholic countries of the West.

## 2. The impact on the West

As long as the Byzantine Empire had been able to absorb people displaced by the Turks within its own territories, Western Europe had not been directly affected by the upheavals in the East.

<sup>29</sup> N. Comnenus-Papadopoulos, *Historia Gymnasii Patavini* (Venice, 1726), vol. 2, p. 187; *Cent dix lettres grecques*, pp. 67-8. Nicolas Pauli who was allowed to settle on Crete after being ruined financially as a result of the capture of Constantinople may also have been a Greek: ASV Senato, Mar reg. 7, f. 105; H. Noiret, *Documents inédits pour servir à l'histoire de la domination vénitienne en Crète de 1380 à 1485* (Paris, 1892), p. 486.

<sup>30</sup> ASV Consiglio dei Dieci, Misti reg. 16, ff. 62v-63 (orig. 25v-26); V. Lamansky, *Secrets d'état de Venise. Documents, extraits, notices et études servant à éclaircir les rapports de la Seigneurie avec les Grecs, les Slaves et la Porte Ottomane* (St. Petersburg, 1884), no. 6, p. 046; Iorga, *Notes et extraits*, vol. 4, no. CXXXI, p. 194. On emigration from Constantinople to Crete in general see E. Gerland, 'Histoire de la noblesse crétoise au moyen âge', *ROL*, 10 (1903-1904), 172-247; Geanakoplos, *Greek Scholars*, pp. 44, 48-50.

<sup>31</sup> Leontius Makhairas, *Recital Concerning the Sweet Land of Cyprus, entitled 'chronicle'*, trans. R.M. Dawkins (Oxford, 1932), ch. 711, p. 683; A.E. Vacalopoulos, *Thasos - son histoire, son administration de 1453 à 1912* (Paris, 1953), p. 16; A. Dapper, *Description exacte des isles de l'Archipel* (Amsterdam, 1703), p. 17. In general see A.E. Vacalopoulos, 'The flight of the inhabitants of Greece to the Aegean Islands, Crete and Mané during the Turkish invasions', *Charanis Studies - Essays in Honour of Peter Charanis*, ed. A.E. Laiou-Thomadakis (New Brunswick, 1980), pp. 272-83.

As the fourteenth century progressed, however, and the probable fate of Constantinople became increasingly clear, the first refugees made their appearance in Italy. One of them was the 'Greek philosopher', John Ciparissiota, who was paid several sums of money in alms by the treasury of the Papal Curia during 1376. The name of another appeared on a now-vanished tombstone which recorded that the nobleman Manuel Marullos took his family to Ancona before 1400 because he had been financially ruined by the depredations of the Turks<sup>32</sup>. The scholar Theodore Gaza was among these early arrivals. His departure for Italy coincides with, and may have been prompted by, the capture of his native Thessalonica in 1430<sup>33</sup>.

One individual penetrated beyond Italy. Paul of Vlachia, a Byzantine nobleman who was probably escaping from the revived Turkish onslaught in central Greece<sup>34</sup>, was in Northern France and Flanders in 1426. He is mentioned in the exchequer records of the towns of Amiens and Bruges which relate that the Turks had killed his entire family and robbed him of all his lands and wealth. To allow him to live without begging, the councils of these towns provided him with gifts of money<sup>35</sup>. The following year he was granted an annual pension of forty marks by

<sup>32</sup> A. Mercati, 'Giovanni Ciparissiota alla corte di Gregorio XI (novembre - dicembre 1377)', *BZ*, 30 (1930), 496-501. For Marullos's tombstone in Ancona see: H. Hody, *De Graecis Illustribus* (London, 1742), p. 246. There are some grounds, however, for dating this inscription to 1500 rather than 1400: M.J. McGann, 'The Ancona epitaph of Manlius Marullus' *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance*, 42 (1980), 401-4; M.J. McGann, 'Medieval or Renaissance. Some distinctive features in the Ancona epitaph of Manlius Marullus', *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance*, 43 (1981), 341-3.

<sup>33</sup> *BH*, vol. 1, pp. XCIV-V. Similarly Demetrius Chalcocondyles left Athens in c.1447, although the city was not captured until 1456: *idem*, pp. XXXI-II.

<sup>34</sup> His name suggests this. 'Vlachia' was an area of Central Greece, so-called from the large population of Vlachs resident there. Paul was, therefore, a Greek and not from the area now known as Romania: G.C. Soulis, 'The Thessalian Vlachia', *Zbornik Radova - Recueil des Travaux de l'Institut d'Études Byzantines*, 8, pt. 1 (1963), 271-3; N. Iorga, 'Un "Comte de Valachie" en occident', *Bulletin de l'Institut pour l'Étude de l'Europe Sud-orientale*, 10 (1923), 112-13.

<sup>35</sup> *Inventaire des archives de la ville de Bruges. Section première: Inventaire des Chartes*, ed. L. Gilliodts-Van Severen, vol. 5 (Bruges, 1876), p. 492; *Inventaire-sommaire des archives communales (Amiens)*, ed. C. Durand, vol. 4 (Amiens, 1901), p. 105. In Amiens he was known as 'Le hault et puissant Prince de Valachie des parties de Grèce', in Bruges as 'Den Grave van Valacien vut Grieken'.



the king of England<sup>36</sup> and he continued to enjoy this until at least 1434<sup>37</sup>.

The vast majority of the refugees to reach the West, however, came after 1453. The port of Ragusa, the modern Dubrovnik, on the Dalmatian coast was one of the first Catholic cities to receive considerable numbers of them in the wake of the disaster. They presented something of an embarrassment to the city's government, which was uneasy in case the Turks should discover the presence of so many Greeks in Ragusa and take it as a sign of hostility. So although some were provided with money, the new arrivals were advised to go to the neighbouring islands and not to linger within the city walls<sup>38</sup>.

For the refugees, however, Ragusa may have been seen only as a staging post from which to cross to Italy. As early as June 1453 several individuals had reached Naples and a year later a Michael Dermokaites Chrysoloras who claimed to have come from Constantinople, was with Filelfo in Milan<sup>39</sup>.

Others quickly moved on from Italy to France. The names of three are recorded in a document from the Bibliothèque Nationale dated October 1454 as Michael 'Catapopinus' and John and Manuel 'Caschadinus'. All were from Constantinople and were in France to try to gather alms from their fellow Christians in order to ransom certain

*Foedera, Conventions, Litterae etc.*, ed. T. Rymer, vol. 4 (The Hague, 1740, 3rd ed.), pt. IV, p. 128 (= vol. X, p. 375 in 1st ed.); *Issues of the Exchequer from King Henry III to King Henry VI Inclusive*, ed. F. Devon (London, 1837), pp. 401-2.

<sup>37</sup> *Foedera*, vol. 5, pt. I, pp. 7-8 (= X, 583); *PPC*, vol. 4, p. 216. Paul apparently pension is endorsed by the words 'Vacated by surrender': *CPR* (1422-9), p. 411. It is interesting that a similar arrangement was contemplated by a member of the Byzantine imperial family, John VII Palaeologus, in 1399 when he offered to sell Constantinople to the king of France, in return for a French castle and an annual pension: S.P. Lambros, 'Ἰωάννου Ζ' Παλαιολόγου ἐκχώρησις τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς βυζαντινῆς αὐτοκρατορίας δικαιωμάτων εἰς τὸν βασιλέα τῆς Γαλλίας, Κάρολον ζ'', *NE*, 10 (1913), 248-57. John also tried to hand the city over to Sultan Bayezid: Ruy Gonzalez Clavijo, *Embassy to Tamerlane*, trans. G. Le Strange (London, 1928), p. 52.

<sup>38</sup> Krekić, *Dubrovnik*, no. 1298, p. 386; no. 1346, p. 395; no. 1379, p. 400. John Palaeologus of Constantinople who borrowed fifty ducats from a Ragusan on the security of some clothes in August 1454 was probably a refugee: *Idem*, no. 1310, p. 388.

<sup>39</sup> Iorga, *Notes et extraits*, vol. 2, pp. 50-1; *Cent dix lettres grecques*, p. 69; Nicol, 'Byzantine family of Dermokaites', no. 25, 10-11.

members of their families<sup>40</sup>. Another group, consisting of Demetrius and Manuel Palaeologus and their companion was also in France during that year and they may have been the 'trois contes de la ville de Constantinoble' who were subsequently reported at Compiègne<sup>41</sup>. Either party may have been the 'trois hommes de Grèce' who passed through Rouen in July 1455<sup>42</sup>.

From communal records it would appear that most towns in France and Flanders received similar visitors at one point or another over the next ten years. In 1459 Brussels welcomed three 'Greek knights' and the Bruges an 'eenen edelen man van Constantinoble'<sup>43</sup>. Others appear in the records of Amiens, Douai, Nevers, Tournai, Harlem, Abbeville and Nozeroy<sup>44</sup>. Yet although France and Flanders seem to have attracted particularly large numbers, most of the countries of Europe were affected to some extent. Refugees appeared in London in February 1455 and in the German town of Hildesheim in 1457 and 1460<sup>45</sup>. John 'Alexander' who had lost his hand fighting on the walls of Constantinople, travelled through the kingdom of Aragon in Spain, collecting alms for the ransom of his mother and two sisters. John 'Aralli', probably a member of the Rhaoul/Rhalles family, was also in Aragon at that time, having, he

<sup>40</sup> BN ms français 5909, ff. 158-158v: '... quorum uxores, liberi et familie sunt, prout asserunt, in servitute miserabili apud Turcos a die crudelissimi excidii predictae urbis Constantinopolitane'.

<sup>41</sup> Du Cange, *Historia Byzantina*, p. 255; H. de l'Épinois, 'Notes extraites des archives communales de Compiègne', *BEC*, 4, 5th series (1863), 498.

<sup>42</sup> *Inventaire-sommaire des archives communales antérieures à 1790 (Rouen)*, C. Robillard de Beaupaire, vol. 1 - Délibérations (Rouen, 1887), p. 58.

<sup>43</sup> ADN B2020, f. 351v; *Inventaire des archives de la ville de Bruges*, vol. 5, p. 493.

<sup>44</sup> ADN B2017, ff. 237v, 267-268, 283v; *Inventaire-sommaire des archives communales (Amiens)*, vol. 4, p. 211; *Inventaire analytique des archives communales antérieures à 1790 (Douai)*, series AA-EE (Lille, 1876), p. 29; A. De la Grange, 'Extraits analytiques des registres des consaulx', *Mémoires de la Société Historique et Littéraire de Tournai*, 23 (1893), 246; A.G. Jongkees, *Staat en kerk in Holland en Zeeland onder de Bourgondische hertogen, 1425-77* (Groningen, 1942), p. 163, n. 4; E. Prarond, *Quelques faits de l'histoire d'Abbeville tirés des registres de l'échevinage* (Paris, 1867), p. 79.

<sup>45</sup> BI Reg. 20, ff. 167-168 (for full text see below Appendix II, p. 193); *Urkundenbuch der Stadt Hildesheim*, ed. R. Doebner, vol. 7 (Hildesheim, 1899), pp. 635, 643.



claimed, been reduced to utter penury by the Turks<sup>46</sup>. Others were reported in Scotland during 1459 and 1460<sup>47</sup>.

Not only did the refugees appear in some numbers outside Italy, therefore, but also over a wide area of Western Europe beyond the Alps. Moreover, they continued to do so long after the period immediately succeeding the fall of Constantinople, as the Ottoman Empire absorbed the last outposts of Byzantine rule.

The despotate of the Morea was finally overthrown in the summer of 1460, when Mehmed II crossed the Isthmus of Corinth and forced the two despots to yield their respective capitals, Mistra and Patras. The 'empire' of Trebizond, which had maintained an independent existence under the Comnenus family since the thirteenth century, fell the following year<sup>48</sup>. Displaced persons from these areas also sought asylum in the West. By 1463 Manuel Rhaoul and the brothers Constantine and John 'Gazri', former inhabitants of the Morea, were in Rome and in 1471 'eenen aermen edelen man van Trapesonde in Griecland' was at Bruges<sup>49</sup>.

The same happened after the Turks overran the Venetian colony of Negroponte (Euboea) in 1470<sup>50</sup>. Many among the Greek population of the island fled to the West. Constantine Francopoulos and George 'Magnafa' had been on Negroponte when it fell and eventually they reached Rome, hoping to raise the sum of seven hundred ducats to free their families. They were particularly unfortunate since they had originally gone to Negroponte for safety after the fall of Constantinople in 1453<sup>51</sup>.

<sup>46</sup> *Documentos sobre relaciones internacionales de los reyes católicos*, ed. A. de la Torre, vol. 1 (Barcelona, 1949), no. 54, p. 98, no. 83, pp. 117-18. On Byzantine refugees in Spain generally, see C. Láscaris-Comneno, 'Participación catalana en la defensa de Constantinopla durante su último asedio', *Argensola*, 7 (1956), 259-66.

<sup>47</sup> *Exchequer Rolls of Scotland*, vol. 6 (Edinburgh, 1883), pp. 491, 580-1. pp. 219-88; F. Babinger, 'La date de la prise de Trébizonde par les Turcs (1461)', *REB*, 7 (1949), 205-7; Runciman, *Fall*, pp. 173-6.

<sup>48</sup> *Sphrantzes*, bk. XL, ch. 1-16, pp. 116-24; Setton, *Papacy and Levant*, vol. 2, pp. 219-88; F. Babinger, 'La date de la prise de Trébizonde par les Turcs (1461)', *REB*, 7 (1949), 205-7; Runciman, *Fall*, pp. 173-6.

<sup>49</sup> ASVat Reg. Vat. 491, f. 70v; Introitus et Exitus 453, f. 189 (orig. 191); *Inventaire des archives de la ville de Bruges*, vol. 6, p. 116.

<sup>50</sup> Setton, *Papacy and Levant*, vol. 2, pp. 300-4.

<sup>51</sup> ASVat Reg. Lat. 721, ff. 38v-39; A. Mercati, 'Documenti pontifici su persone e cose del mare Egeo e di Cipro poco dopo la caduta di Costantinopoli', *OCP*, 20 (1954), doc. XI, 122-3.

Other Greeks from the island were in Toledo and Valladolid in Spain and Ely in England during the 1480s<sup>52</sup>.

Ottoman successes in the Balkans had the same effect. Refugees are recorded as having come from Arta and Bosnia and an individual named Lascaris, who was in Rome in 1486, was from Serres in Macedonia<sup>53</sup>. When Otranto in Southern Italy was sacked and occupied by the Turks in 1480-1, individuals from there, too, were forced from their homes<sup>54</sup>. Moreover, as the Ottoman conquests did not end with the century, neither did the migration which continued to affect Western Europe long after 1500<sup>55</sup>.

### 3. Refugees and migrants

Given the abundance of references to Greek refugees in Western records of this period, it would seem that their numbers were not insignificant. It must be born in mind, too, that the allusions in western documents are chance survivals. For each of those mentioned or which were been many others whose names were never recorded or which were written down in documents now lost. It would seem probable, therefore, that there were many more refugees than those of whom evidence has been found and that more than merely a few isolated individuals were involved in the move westwards between 1453 and 1500.

Yet it is open to question whether this had any long term significance. Many of the refugees discussed so far appear in the guise of transient visitors to the West who had come with the intention of collecting alms for ransoms to free relatives and friends left behind in the

<sup>52</sup> I.K. Chasiotes, *Σχέσεις 'Ελλήνων καὶ 'Ισπανῶν στὰ χρόνια τῆς Τουρκοκρατίας* (Thessalonica, 1969), p. 15.

<sup>53</sup> ASVat Reg. Vat. 477, ff. 84v-85; Reg. Vat. 551, ff. 105-105v; Reg. Vat. 685, ff. 275v-276v. There is, in fact, some evidence that members of the Lascaris family were living around Serres after the Ottoman conquest, for a 'Palaeologus, son of Demetrius, son of Lascaris' held land there in 1464: N. Beldiceanu and I. Beldiceanu-Steinherr, 'Un Paléologue inconnu de la région de Serrés', *Byzantion*, 41 (1971), 5-17.

<sup>54</sup> ASVat Reg. Vat. 648, ff. 275-276v; E. Perito, 'Uno sguardo alla guerra d'Otranto e alle cedole della tesoreria aragonese di quel tempo', *ASPN*, 40 (1915), 328; *Documentos sobre relaciones*, vol. 1, no. 31, p. 318.

<sup>55</sup> ADN B18834, no. 27231, ff. 307-307v (orig. B855, no. 27231); *IADNB*, vol. 1, pt. 2, p. 63; PRO C82/344, C82/362; *LP*, vol. 1, pt. 1, nos. 357 (23), 750 (4); *Leonis X Pontificis Maximi Regesta*, ed. J. Hergenröther (Freiburg, 1884), no. 12518, p. 765.



East. They would, therefore, have returned to their homeland once their task was complete.

A good example is that of Nicolas Tarchaniotes, whom Filelfo describes in a letter of 1455 as travelling from town to town in Italy and France, collecting money to buy the freedom of his parents. He is known to have visited Milan, Lille, Brussels, Paris and possibly Tours in this way between 1455 and 1459<sup>56</sup>. Thereafter, however, he disappears from the records and it seems logical to assume that he had returned to Constantinople.

The case of George Diplovatatzes who was in London in February 1455 is similar. An episcopal register recounts that he had come to England, in company with one Thomas Eparchos, to raise money for the release of his wife and children in Constantinople<sup>57</sup>. No subsequent western document mentions him as a refugee<sup>58</sup> so that it is impossible to be certain as to the outcome of his wanderings. He may, however, have been the George Diplovatatzes who was living with his family on the island of Limnos in the autumn of 1456<sup>59</sup>. If George had succeeded in obtaining the freedom of wife and children he may have been tempted to remain in the East, for the sultan had specifically invited members of the once-powerful Diplovatatzes family to remain and take service under him<sup>60</sup>.

There was, however, another possibility: that of remaining permanently in the West. Another George Diplovatatzes of Limnos, or possibly the same man as the visitor to London in 1455, ended up taking

p. 207-8; *Comptes du domaine de la ville de Paris*, vol. 2, ed. J. Monicat (Paris, 1958), col. 177; Filelfo, *Epistolae* (1506), bk. XII, pridie kalends January 1455 and 9 kalends August 1455.

<sup>57</sup> BI reg. 20, ff. 167v-168. See below Appendix II, p. 193ff. The mention of letters of recommendation from Reynald of Sickingen, bishop of Worms (1446-82), in the indulgence may indicate that Eparchos and Diplovatatzes had passed through his city on their way to England. They had almost certainly been in German-speaking lands at some point since they left an account of the fall of Constantinople which was translated into German: Iorga, *Notes et extraits*, vol. 2, pp. 514-18; A. Pertusi, *La caduta di Costantinopoli*, vol. 1 (Milan, 1976), pp. 234-9.

<sup>58</sup> Unless he was one of the three members of the Diplovatatzes family who had been in Milan the previous year: Filelfo, *Epistolae* (1506), bk. XII, 6 ides March 1456.

<sup>59</sup> C.N. Sathas, *Documents inédits relatifs à l'histoire de la Grèce*, vol. 9 (Paris, 1889), pp. XXXI-II.

<sup>60</sup> MM, vol. 3, p. 290. In the past a Diplovatatzina had been the mistress of the Emperor Michael VIII: Pachymeres, vol. 1, p. 174.

this course. In 1456 he handed the island over to a Papal crusading fleet and as a reward he and his family were given a safe-conduct to the West. After spending some time on Crete, Diplovatatzes is held by one tradition to have later died fighting the Moors in Spain. His son Thomas, however, grew up in Italy and spent most of his life in Pesaro<sup>61</sup>. Another who remained permanently was John Argyropoulos who was in Italy in August 1454, seemingly as a refugee trying to raise a ransom<sup>62</sup>. He returned to the East later that month but returned in 1456, along with his wife and children, to reside in Florence when he was offered the chair of Greek at the Studium<sup>63</sup>.

There were, then, a certain number of refugees who did not just visit the West temporarily to gather alms but remained permanently. It is impossible to tell from the records who stayed and who returned home but it is important to bear in mind that the number of Greeks arriving and settling was increased by another factor.

While many of the Greeks encountered in western records were clearly fleeing hardship and persecution in the face of Turkish attacks, others seem to have come from the Venetian colonies where there was no immediate threat to escape from. Thus while Nicolas Tarchaniotes, who has already been mentioned, clearly belonged to the first group, the scholar, George of Trebizond, who emigrated from Crete to Italy in about 1416, came from an island which remained secure under Venetian rule for another two hundred years<sup>64</sup>.

ASV Consiglio dei Dieci, Misti reg. 16, f. 74 (orig. 37v); A. Degli Abati Olivieri Giordani, *Memorie di Tommaso Diplovatazio, patrizio constantinopolitano e pesarese* (Pesaro, 1771), pp. V-IX reproduced in Sathas, *Documents*, vol. 9, pp. XXXI-II; BH, vol. 3, pp. 292-3. Plenty of members of the family remained on the island, however. The Ottoman tax registers show that four 'sons of Diplovatatzes' were living on Limnos in 1519: H.W. Lowry, 'The island of Limnos: A case study on the continuity of Byzantine forms under Ottoman rule', *Continuity and Change in Late Byzantine and Early Ottoman Society*, ed. A.A.M. Bryer and H.W. Lowry (Birmingham, 1986), pp. 235-59, esp. pp. 256-7.

<sup>62</sup> G. Zippel, 'Per la biografia dell'Argiropulo', *Giornale Storico della Letteratura Italiana*, 28 (1896), 94-5; Gray, 'Greek visitors', 88-9.

<sup>63</sup> Vespasiano, p. 274; *Statuti della Università e Studio fiorentino*, ed. A. Gherardi (Florence, 1881), pp. 467, 489-92; G. Cammelli, *I dotti bizantini e le origini dell'umanesimo. II: Giovanni Argiropulo* (Florence, 1941), pp. 65-84. See also below p. 56.

<sup>64</sup> On George of Trebizond see now J. Monfasani, *George of Trebizond* (Leiden, 1976).



This leads on to the problem of terminology and of mixed motives. Those who, like George of Trebizond, moved West without having been ejected by the Turks can hardly be classed as refugees. It is more likely they left in the hope of improving their economic circumstances. A distinction should, therefore, be made between refugees and what would now be termed 'economic migrants'. Of course, motives may well have been mixed: refugees might also have hoped to settle and improve their lot, and economic migrants may have feared that, in the long term, they would be faced with a Turkish invasion. The nature of the source material, however, does not permit so detailed a scrutiny of motivation as is possible in a modern context<sup>65</sup>.

What is important, at least as far as this study is concerned, is not the particular motives of each individual but the fact that they came and that some came permanently. It is therefore necessary to try to establish how significant and widespread Greek settlement in Western Europe was.

#### 4. Areas of settlement

There are two fundamental questions which need to be answered in seeking to assess the extent of Greek settlement in this period. First, in which areas did these immigrants congregate and why, and secondly in what numbers did they settle?

Geography naturally dictated that Italy would receive the largest number of immigrants. However, there were particular reasons why Venice, Naples and Rome should attract more than other cities in the peninsula.

There had probably been some Greeks living in the Venice throughout the Middle Ages, since the links between Byzantium and Venice had remained close, even after the latter ceased to be an outpost of the empire<sup>66</sup>. The impetus for the Greek community to grow, however, came with the Venetian participation in the Fourth Crusade of 1204 and her subsequent annexation of large areas of what had been Byzantine territory, namely the Ionian Islands, Crete, Negroponte (Euboea) and the towns of Methone, Corone, Nauplia and Argos. It was

<sup>65</sup> For comparison see: E. Voutira, 'Pontic Greeks today: migrants or refugees', *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 4 (1991), 400-20. The author had the advantage of being able to talk to her subjects!

<sup>66</sup> Many of them were artists: G.L. Tafel and G.M. Thomas, *Urkunden zur älteren Handels und Staatsgeschichte der Republik Venedig*, vol. 1 (Vienna, 1856), no. 1, pp. 1-3; B. Cecchetti, 'Nomi di pittori e lapidici antichi', *Archivio Veneto*, 33 (1887), 45, n. 1.

inevitable that, as the ruling city of an empire which contained so many Greek subjects, Venice should come to possess a Greek element among the variety of races which made up the city's population. In 1271 the *Maggior Consiglio* recognised their presence by giving them official leave to remain<sup>67</sup>.

During the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries this minority group began to attain significant numbers and became concentrated in a particular area of the city, the *sestiere* of Castello<sup>68</sup>. The majority of these people were probably immigrants from Venice's Greek territories and had left their homelands in order to improve their career prospects. They seem to have included particularly large numbers of Cretans. The extant registers of payments to the funds of the Greek Scuola, preserved in the Archivio di San Giorgio dei Greci, include several names like 'Bortolomio da Candia' and 'Davit Manoli da Retimo', evidently former inhabitants of the towns of Candia and Rethymnon. Mark Musuros and Demetrius Ducas, who both later made an impression as scholars, were from the same island<sup>69</sup>. There were also immigrants from other Venetian possessions, Methone, Corone, Corfu, Negroponte and latterly from Cyprus which had been annexed by Venice in 1489<sup>70</sup>.

However, the colony also included refugees who had escaped from areas under Ottoman rule. A Demetrius of Thessalonica was living in Venice in 1499 and a 'Lazaro dalla Morea' shortly afterwards.

<sup>67</sup> *Deliberazioni del Maggior Consiglio di Venezia*, ed. R. Cessi, vol. 2 (Bologna, 1931), no. 60, p. 153. A painter called Theodore of Constantinople had a workshop in the city in the 1240s and according to the late testimony of Vasari, other Greek artists were active in Venice at that time: F. Borsetti, *Historia Alma Ferrariae Gymnasii* (Ferrara, 1735), vol. 2, p. 447; G. Vasari, *The Lives of the Most Eminent Painters, Sculptors and Architects*, trans. G. de Vere, vol. 1 (London, 1912), p. 47.

<sup>68</sup> In general see: I. Veloudes, 'Ελλήνων Ὁρθόδοξων ἀποικία ἐν Βενετία (Venice, 1893); Geanakoplos, *Greek Scholars*, pp. 53-70; J.G. Ball, *The Greek Community in Venice (1470-1620)*, University of London Ph.D. thesis (1985); D.M. Nicol, *Byzantium and Venice. A Study in Diplomatic and Cultural Relations* (Cambridge, 1988), pp. 414-18.

<sup>69</sup> A. Pardos, 'Ἀλφαβητικὸς κατάλογος τῶν πρώτων μελῶν τῆς ἐλληνικῆς ἀδελφότητος Βενετίας κατὰ τὸ κατάστιχο 129 (1498-1530) - 1. Ἄνδρες', *Th*, 16 (1979), 294-386, esp. 336, 345, 361; Geanakoplos, *Greek Scholars*, pp. 113, 226.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.* 330, 331, 377. A. Pardos, 'Ἀλφαβητικὸς κατάλογος τῶν πρώτων μελῶν τῆς ἐλληνικῆς ἀδελφότητος Βενετίας κατὰ τὸ κατάστιχο 129 (1498-1530) - 2. Γυναῖκες', *Th*, 17 (1980), 149-205, esp. 151, 156, 160. On the annexation of Cyprus see: G. Hill, *A History of Cyprus*, vol. 3 (Cambridge, 1948), pp. 711-52; Setton, *Papacy and Levant*, vol. 2, p. 258.



Constantine Palaeologus Graitzas who defended the castle of Salmenica near Patras against Mehmed II in 1460, succeeded in getting away to Venetian territory after the fortress surrendered and spent the rest of his life in Venice<sup>71</sup>. From Constantinople came Demetrius Scaranos, Manuel Calaphates and Maria Galatiani<sup>72</sup>, as well as the most famous and influential of the refugees, Anna Notaras, the wealthy daughter of the Byzantine Megadux, Lucas Notaras. She had been sent to Italy shortly before the fall of Constantinople and lived in Venice until her death at an advanced age in 1507<sup>73</sup>.

In the absence of any statistical information, it is difficult to put a precise figure on the number of Greeks living in Venice in the fifteenth century. A papal letter of October 1445 shows they had become fairly numerous by then and various modern estimates put the number at around four thousand in 1478<sup>74</sup>. By 1584 one writer was claiming that they had increased to 15,000, though this is almost certainly an exaggeration<sup>75</sup>.

Yet if no precise numbers can be put on the Greek inhabitants of Venice, there are two developments which indicate how important their community had become in the course of the fifteenth century.

In the first place in 1498 the Venetian government recognised this importance by allowing the Greeks to form a *scuola* or Brotherhood as

<sup>71</sup> Pardos, "Αλφαβητικὸς κατάλογος - 1. Ἄνδρες", 345, 352; S.P. Lambros, "Κωνσταντῖνος Παλαιολόγος Γραιτζίνας", *NE*, 11 (1914), 260-88; W. Miller, *Latins in the Levant* (London, 1908), pp. 450-1.

<sup>72</sup> ASV Privilegi reg. 1, ff. 113, 192v; Pardos, "Αλφαβητικὸς κατάλογος - 2. Γυναικες", 163.

<sup>73</sup> ASV Archivio Notarile, Testamenti 36, no. 1; *Historia Politica Constantinopoleos*, ed. I. Bekker, *CSHB* (Bonn, 1849), pp. 23-4; Ducas, ch. XL, pp. 305-6; M. Crusius, *Turcograecia* (Basle, 1584), p. 13; Marino Sanudo, *I Diarii*, vol. 7 (Venice, 1882), col. 115; K.D. Mertzius, "Ἡ διαθήκη τῆς Ἀννης Παλαιολογίνας", *Ἀθηνᾶ*, 53 (1949), 17-21; G. Cecchini, "Anna Notara Paleologa - una principessa greca in Italia e la politica senese di ripopolamento della Maremma", *Bollettino Senese di Storia Patria*, 9 (1938), 1-41, esp. doc. 1, 26-7.

<sup>74</sup> G. Fedalto, *Ricerche storiche sulla posizione giuridica ed ecclesiastica dei Greci a Venezia nei secoli XV e XVI* (Florence, 1967), doc. 1, p. 116: "Propter Grecos, qui Venetiis habitant, vel illuc quotidie accedunt, quorum numerum non ignoramus magnum esse". For a summary of the estimates of the size of the Greek population in 1478 see Geanakoplos, *Greek Scholars*, p. 60, n. 22.

<sup>75</sup> E. Legrand, "Notice biographique sur Jean et Théodose Zygomalas", *Receuil de textes et traductions publiés par les professeurs de l'École des Langues Orientales Vivantes*, vol. 2 (Paris, 1889), pp. 254-5; G.S. Plumidis, "Considerazioni sulla popolazione greca a Venezia nella seconda metà del 500", *Studi Veneziani*, 14 (1972), 219-26.

had already been established by other minority groups<sup>76</sup>. Secondly, by the early fifteenth century, the Greeks had begun to make representations to have their own place of worship. Initially the Venetian Council of Ten responded unfavourably, forbidding the celebration of the Greek rite in the city and ordering the destruction of chapels built for the purpose<sup>77</sup>. In 1456, however, they acquired a spokesman in the person of the Greek Cardinal Isidore who wrote to the Doge urging that a church be set aside for the use of the Uniate rite<sup>78</sup>. The Council of Ten finally gave permission in 1470 for the Greeks to worship in a wing of the church of San Biagio, although their priests were not allowed to celebrate anywhere else on pain of a fine<sup>79</sup>. It was not, however, until the following century that they were able to build a church of their own, receiving permission from the Pope and Doge in 1514<sup>80</sup> and raising the necessary funds by a tax on Greek shipping entering the port of Venice. It was finally completed, as San Giorgio dei Greci, in 1573<sup>81</sup>.

However, Venice was not the only Italian city to experience an influx from Constantinople, mainland Greece and the Greek islands during the fifteenth century. Naples and the whole of Southern Italy were

<sup>76</sup> ASV Consiglio dei Dieci, Misti reg. 27, f. 247 (orig. 204); Fedalto, *Ricerche*, doc. X, pp. 123-4; Veloudes, p. 9; Geanakoplos, *Greek Scholars*, p. 63.

<sup>77</sup> ASV Consiglio dei Dieci, Misti reg. 15, f. 137 (orig. 136); Thiriet, *Délibérations des assemblées vénitiennes concernant la Romanie*, vol. 2 (Paris, 1971), no. 1534, pp. 134, 328; N.G. Moschonas, "I Greci a Venezia e la loro posizione religiosa nel XV secolo", *Ὁ Ἑρανιστής*, 27-8 (1967), 105-37, esp. no. I, pp. 126-7, no. VI, pp. 130-1.

<sup>78</sup> ASV Senato, Terra reg. 4, ff. 10v-11 (orig. 9v-10); Iorga, *Notes et extraits*, vol. 4, pp. 129-30; M.I. Manousakas, "Ἡ πρώτη ἄδεια (1456) τῆς Βενετικῆς γερουσίας γιὰ τὸ ναὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων τῆς Βενετίας καὶ ὁ καρδινάλιος Ἰσίδωρος", *Th*, 1 (1962), 109-18.

<sup>79</sup> ASV Consiglio dei Dieci, Misti reg. 17, f. 138 (orig. 96); Moschonas, "Greci", no. VIII, pp. 132-3. In 1473 Pope Sixtus granted the chapel of Sant'Ursula in the church of SS. Giovanni e Paolo to the Greek community but it seems unlikely that this was ever put into effect: F. Corner, *Ecclesiae Venetae Antiquis Monumentis nunc etiam Primum Editis Illustratae* (Venice, 1749), vol. 12, p. 360.

<sup>80</sup> Archivio della Scuola di San Nicolò e della chiesa di San Giorgio dei Greci, Scigno nos. 2 and 6; Fedalto, *Ricerche*, doc. XIV, p. 126; Corner, *Ecclesiae*, vol. 12, pp. 373-4; G.S. Plumidis, "Αἱ βουλλαι τῶν Παπῶν περὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὀρθοδόξων τῆς Βενετίας (1445-1782)", *Th*, 7 (1970), 228-66, esp. 231-2.

<sup>81</sup> Geanakoplos, *Greek Scholars*, pp. 61-6; S. Antoniadis, "Πορίσματα ἀπὸ τὴν μελέτην προχείρων διαχειριστικῶν βιβλίων τῶν ἐτῶν 1544-7 καὶ 1549-54 τῆς παλαιᾶς κοινότητος Βενετίας", *Πρακτικὰ Ἀκαδημίας Ἀθηνῶν*, 23 (1958), 466-87.



affected in a similar way. Among the new arrivals, for example, were Manuel Rhalles of Constantinople and Catherine Tarchaniotes who both brought their families with them. The Greeks settled over a wide area. Manuel Palaeologus, and Isaac Palaeologus and his son Alexius, who had wandered through much of Europe during the early 1460s, ended up living in Naples<sup>82</sup>. The famous scholar, Constantine Lascaris, lived first in Naples, then in Messina. George, Paul and Andronicus Rhalles Palaeologus, who had come from the Morea, were given citizenship of Taranto in 1469 and a 'Stefano de Bizancio' took up residence in the Cilento area. The Basile family moved from Rhodes to Sicily in 1500<sup>83</sup>. The largest congregation of immigrants, however, seems to have been in Naples<sup>84</sup>.

Part of the reason for the popularity of Southern Italy must have been that Brindisi was the port nearest to Greece but there was also the fact that the Aragonese rulers of Naples and Sicily, strong proponents of an anti-Turkish crusade, were ready enough to welcome the refugees.

The most important factor, however, must have been that there existed ever since settlers from Greece had first arrived in the ninth century B.C. The Greek-speaking element was later reinforced and enlarged, first by the Byzantine reconquest from the Ostrogoths in the sixth century and then by an influx of immigrants during the seventh. The Norman conquest of the region finally brought imperial rule to an end in 1071<sup>85</sup> but Greeks remained a sizeable element of the population in the

fifteenth century and even as late as the 1880s there were still some twenty thousand people in the region who spoke Greek as their mother tongue<sup>86</sup>. As a result some aspects of Byzantine culture, particularly Basilian monasticism and a knowledge of classical Greek were preserved there even under Latin rule<sup>87</sup>. It is quite understandable that the newcomers should prefer an area where their language was widely spoken.

This does mean, however, that it is almost impossible to assess the number of Greeks who crossed to Southern Italy during the fifteenth century because there is often nothing to show the difference between the new arrivals and the established population. It is equally hard to distinguish them from the Albanians who came over in particularly large numbers after John Castriota, the son of Scanderbeg, and his wife Irene settled there. Many of the Greek immigrants were themselves from Epiros and once in Italy were quite happy to live alongside their old neighbours<sup>88</sup>.

Yet there can be no doubt that numbers increased significantly. The foundation in 1518 of a chapel for the use of the Greek Uniate rite in Naples by Thomas Asanes Palaeologus certainly implies this<sup>89</sup> as do the plentiful examples of individual immigrants, cited above.

Rome is a rather different case from Venice or Naples. The city's attraction lay in its being the seat of the papacy and in the patronage which successive incumbents were prepared to dispense. Those who settled there generally seem to have received that patronage for one reason

<sup>82</sup> Iorga, *Notes et extraits*, vol. 4, nos. CCLIV and CCLX, pp. 337-8; N. Barone, 'Le cedole di tesoreria dell'Archivio di Stato di Napoli dall'anno 1460 al 1504', *ASPN*, 9 (1884), 31; F. Forcellini, 'Strane peripezie di un bastardo di casa di Aragona', *ASPN*, 39 (1914), 195; S.P. Lambros, 'Μετανάστευσις Ἑλλήνων εἰς τὸ Βασίλειον τῆς Νεαπόλεως', *NE*, 8 (1911), no. 1, 380-2.

<sup>83</sup> Lambros, 'Μετανάστευσις', no. 3, 384-6; A. Silvestri, *La popolazione del Cilento nel 1489* (Salerno, 1956), p. 37; C.R. Zach, 'Familles nobles italiennes d'origine grecque', *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik*, 32/6 (1982), 19-26; J.M. Fernández-Pómar, 'La colección de Uceda y los manuscritos griegos de Constantino Lascaris', *Emerita*, 34 (1966), 211-88, esp. 219-88.

<sup>84</sup> Manuscript colophons reveal that Greek scribes were active in the city: Filelfo, *Epistolae* (1502), bk. XIII, 8 kalends October 1456; Iorga, *Notes et extraits*, vol. 4, p. 163; E. Pèrcopo, 'Nuovi documenti su gli scrittori e gli artisti dei tempi aragonesi', *ASPN*, 20 (1895), 334-5; VG, p. 280.

<sup>85</sup> *Cronaca di Monemvasia*, ed. and trans. I. Dujcev, *Istituto Siciliano di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici: testi e monumenti*, 12 (Palermo, 1976) p. 12; S. Borsari, 'Le migrazioni dall'Oriente in Italia nel VII secolo', *La Parola del Passato*, 6 (1951),

133-8; J. Gay, *L'Italie méridionale et l'empire byzantin* (Paris, 1904).  
<sup>86</sup> H.F. Tozer, 'The Greek speaking population of Southern Italy', *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 10 (1889), 11-42; I. Lombardi, 'Contributo alla storia del rito greco in Italia', *Roma e l'Oriente*, 8 (1914), 106-19, 339-60.

<sup>87</sup> R. Weiss, 'The Greek culture of South Italy in the later Middle Ages', *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 37 (1953), 23-50; K.M. Setton, 'The Byzantine background to the Italian Renaissance', *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, 100 (1956), 1-17.

<sup>88</sup> E. Tomai-Pitina, 'Note su una comunità greco-albanese di Taranto del XV secolo', *Bollettino della Badia Greca di Grottaferrata*, 28 (1974), 57-73; A.E. Vacalopoulos, *The Greek Nation, 1453-1669* (New Brunswick, 1976), p. 47; A. Gegaj, *L'Albanie et l'invasion turque au XVe siècle* (Louvain, 1937), pp. 161-2.

<sup>89</sup> C. Nikas, 'La chiesa e confraternità dei SS. Pietro e Paolo dei Greci a Napoli', *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik*, 32/6 (1982), 43-50; D. Ambrasi, 'In margine all'immigrazione greca nell'Italia meridionale nei secoli XV e XVI - La comunità greca di Napoli e la sua chiesa', *Asprenas*, 8 (1961), 156-85, esp. 157; S.P. Lambros, 'Ἡ Ἑλληνικὴ ἐκκλησία Νεαπόλεως', *NE* 20 (1926), 3-19; A. Fortescue, *The Uniate Eastern Churches* (London, 1923), p. 144.



or another: the Greek cardinals, Bessarion and Isidore because they supported the Union of the churches, Thomas and Andreas Palaeologus and Queen Charlotte of Cyprus because they were legitimate sovereigns dispossessed of their realms. Several distinguished scholars were lured to the city in the hope of advancement. John Argyropoulos and Demetrius Rhaoul Cavaces both spent their last years in Rome<sup>90</sup> and George of Trebizond, the Papal secretary who had emigrated from Crete in 1416, lived for many years near the church of Santa Maria Sopra Minerva and was eventually buried there<sup>91</sup>. All three had sons who lived on in the city after the death of their parents and who likewise enjoyed the support of the Papal Curia<sup>92</sup>.

It is doubtful, however, whether these individuals could have matched the settlers in Venice and Naples in terms of numbers. There is no sign of any particular area of the city being associated with the Greek population as, for example, the vicinity of the port of Ripetta came to be with the Slavs and Albanians<sup>93</sup>. The census taken in 1527 shows the Greeks to have been scattered over the various *riones* and, moreover, records only eighteen Greek households with a total of fifty four

<sup>90</sup> E. Garin, 'A proposito della biografia di Giovanni Argiropulo', *Rinascimento*, 1 (1950), 104-7; V. Forcella, *Iscrizioni delle chiese e d'altri edifici di Roma*, vol. 2 (Rome, 1873), no. 676, p. 230. Argyropoulos has left a tangible reminder of his time in Rome. His portrait appears in Ghirlandajo's frescoes in the Sistine Chapel and was also included in the original decoration of the Cancellaria Palace: E. Steinmann, *Die Sixtinische Kapelle*, vol. 1 (Munich, 1901), pp. 385-6; L. Schrader, *Monumentorum Italiae* (Helmstadt, 1592), p. 216. Janus Lascaris also died in Rome, in the early sixteenth century, and he was buried in Sant'Agata dei Goti: Forcella, *Iscrizioni*, vol. 10, no. 572, p. 348. On Cavaces see below p. 129.

<sup>91</sup> Leo Allatius, *De Georgiis et eorum Scriptis Diatriba*, PG 161, col. 745; D. Barbalarga, 'Un documento inedito su Giorgio da Trebisonda: la donazione di tre sue opere al Convento della Minerva di Roma', *Pluteus*, 2 (1984), 159-62; Monfasani, *George of Trebizond*, pp. 5-10. For his wages as Papal secretary see: ASR MC 830, f. 258.

<sup>92</sup> On Isaac Argyropoulos, son of John, see: *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 4 (Rome, 1962), pp. 131-2 and below p. 155; E. Lee, *Sixtus IV and Men of Letters, Temi e Testi*, 26 (Rome, 1978), pp. 172-3. On Andreas Trapezuntius see: ASVat Reg. Vat. 465, ff. ff. 245v-246 (orig. 249v-250); partial transcription in Setton, *Papacy and Levant*, vol. 2, p. 257, n. 93; Lee, *Sixtus IV*, pp. 70-4. On Manuel Rhaoul Cavaces, son of Demetrius, see: ASVat Reg. Vat. 759, ff. 342-3; *Leonis X Regesta*, nos. 226, 3661; A. Gottlob, *Aus der Camera Apostolica* (Innsbruck, 1889), pp. 292-3; *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 15, pp. 669-71.

<sup>93</sup> J. Delumeau, *Vie économique et sociale de Rome dans la seconde moitié du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle*, vol. 1 (Paris, 1957), p. 205.

occupants<sup>94</sup>. Nor does the Greek *gymnasium* or college established by Janus Lascaris at the behest of Pope Leo X in 1514 seem to have drawn large numbers to Rome since it did not last very long<sup>95</sup>. As a result casual references to Greeks in documents and chronicles, though not non-existent, are relatively rare<sup>96</sup>.

Furthermore, the most obvious sign of a numerous ethnic group, a church made over for their specific use is missing. It is true that several Greeks, including Bessarion and Demetrius and Manuel Rhaoul Cavaces, were buried in Santi Apostoli<sup>97</sup> so that it may have been their chosen place of worship but there is no evidence that it was ever specially assigned to the Greeks as a group. It was not until the pontificate of Gregory XIII (1572-85) that a Uniate church was established in Rome for the members of the new Greek College<sup>98</sup>. This contrasts strongly with the situation in the earlier Middle Ages when the Greeks had been numerous enough in Rome to have a particular area of the city associated with them, the bank of the Tiber below the Aventine Hill and a church, Santa Maria in Cosmedin, dedicated to their use<sup>99</sup>. One has to conclude, therefore, that the Greeks who lived in Rome in the second half of the

<sup>94</sup> E. Lee, *Descriptio Urbis: The Roman Census of 1527* (Rome, 1985), p. 290.

<sup>95</sup> V. Fanelli, 'Il Ginnasio Greco di Leone X a Roma', *Studi Romani*, 9 (1961), 379-93; M.I. Manousakas, 'Η παρουσίαση ἀπὸ τὸν Ἰάνο Λάσκαρις τῶν πρώτων μαθητῶν τοῦ ἐλληνικοῦ γυμνασίου τῆς Ρώμης στὸν Πάπα Λέοντα Ι' (15 Φεβρουαρίου 1514)', *Ο' Ερανιστής*, 1 (1963), 161-72.

<sup>96</sup> There was, for example, an Armonio Greco who in 1481 accused Alessandro Cortesi of plotting with Lorenzo de' Medici: M. Miglio, 'I cronisti della storia', *Un pontificato ed una città: Sisto IV (1471-84)*, ed. M. Miglio et al. (Vatican City, 1986), p. 640.

<sup>97</sup> Forcella, *Iscrizioni*, no. 656, p. 229, no. 676, p. 230, no. 773, p. 254. For Lucretia Palaeologina's epitaph from the church see: BAV Vat. Lat. 5250, f. 176v; Setton, *Papacy and Levant*, vol. 2, p. 463, n. 49.

<sup>98</sup> P. de Meester, *Le Collège Pontifical Grec de Rome* (Rome, 1910); C. Korolevski, 'Les premiers temps de l'histoire du Collège Grec de Rome (1576-1622)', *Stoudion*, 4 (1927), 81-97, 137-51 and 6 (1929), 40-8; *Il Collegio Greco di Roma*, ed. A. Fyrgos (Rome, 1983).

<sup>99</sup> F. Nerini, *De Templo Coenobio Sanctorum Bonifacii et Alexii Historica Monumenta* (Rome, 1752), appendix 1, p. 374; Anonymous of Einsiedeln, *Antiqua Collectio Veterum Inscriptionum Romanarum, Vetera Analecta*, ed. J. Mabillon (Paris, 1723, 2nd ed.), p. 363; L. Bréhier, 'Les colonies d'orientaux en occident au commencement du moyen âge', *BZ*, 12 (1903), 1-38, esp. 3-8. On the Greek monasteries of Rome in the early medieval period, see: J-M. Sansterre, *Les moines grecs et orientaux à Rome aux époques byzantine et carolingienne* (Brussels, 1980), 2 vols.



fifteenth century were a much smaller group than those of Venice or Naples.

Several other Italian cities attracted Greek emigres eager to take advantage of the patronage of their leading citizens. In Milan, the Sforza dukes played host to several famous Byzantine scholars, including Demetrius Chalcocondyles and to the organist, Isaac Argyropoulos<sup>100</sup>. Likewise the Platonic Academy established by Cosimo de' Medici drew similar figures to Florence<sup>101</sup>. There is, however, no evidence of a distinct Greek community with its own quarter and church establishing itself in those cities during the fifteenth century and it was not until late in the sixteenth that the Medici gave permission for a settlement to be created at Livorno<sup>102</sup>. Genoa, which had strong trading links with Constantinople, may have had a small Greek community, consisting of freed slaves, merchants and artists. During the previous century there had even been a consul of the Greeks established in the city<sup>103</sup>. There can be little doubt, however, that it was Venice and Southern Italy which attracted the greatest numbers of settlers.

Beyond Italy one might expect to be hard pressed to find any Greeks settling permanently before 1500. For most of the Middle Ages those Greeks who were to be found penetrating beyond the Alps were usually visitors or pilgrims. There were exceptions, of course. The marriage of the Byzantine princess Theophano to the son of Otto I in 972 may have had the effect of encouraging some of her countrymen to take up residence in the Western empire, for she took a large retinue with her

<sup>100</sup> N.B. Tomadakis, 'I Greci a Milano', *Istituto Lombardo: Rendiconti*, 101 (1967), 568-80; C. Sartori, 'Organs, organ-builders and organists in Milan, 1450-76: new and unpublished documents', *Musical Quarterly*, 43 (1957), 57-67.

<sup>101</sup> Among those who taught at Florence were John Argyropoulos and Andronicus Callistus: *Statuti della Università e studio fiorentino*, p. 467; *BH*, pp. L-VIII. For a Greek scribe in Florence in the late fifteenth century see: *VG*, pp. 223-4. At the other end of the spectrum, many of the slaves sold in Florence were of Greek origin: I. Origo, 'The domestic enemy: The eastern slaves in Tuscany in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries', *Speculum*, 30 (1955), 321-66, esp. 336.

<sup>102</sup> N.B. Tomadakis, 'Ναοὶ καὶ θεομοὶ τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς κοινότητος τοῦ Αἰθῶπρου', *EEBS*, 16 (1940), 81-127. A plan sponsored by Anna Notaras and discussed with government of Siena in 1472 aimed to found an independent Greek colony in the Maremma area but nothing came of these plans: Cecchini, 'Anna Notara', 1-41.

<sup>103</sup> C. Otten-Froux, 'Deux consuls des Grecs à Gênes à la fin du 14e siècle', *REB*, 50 (1992), 241-8; F. Alizeri, *Notizie dei professori del disegno in Liguria dalle origini al secolo XVI*, vol. 1 (Genoa, 1870-3), pp. 157, 407.

to her new home<sup>104</sup>. In general, however, Greeks residents were extremely rare and seem to have become more so in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, perhaps on account of the strained relations caused by religious differences and the Fourth Crusade. Those who are attested by religious differences and the Fourth Crusade. Those who are attested seem to have been there at the behest of the Latins, like the translators invited from Southern Italy to England by the bishop of Lincoln, Robert Grosseteste<sup>105</sup> or the Greek slaves who were not uncommon in Spain and Southern France during the fourteenth century<sup>106</sup>.

When it comes to the first half of the fifteenth century, the picture is, on the surface at least, no different, still apparently consisting of isolated individuals here and there rather than of distinct communities. For example, we hear of a Greek doctor, Michael Dishypatos, at Chambéry in Savoy, an Isabel of Constantinople in Vigo and an Agnes of Constantinople, married to a Frenchman at Cambrai<sup>107</sup>. Further afield, an English writer claimed to have met a Greek at Norwich and there are allusions to others living in Brassò and Budapest in Hungary<sup>108</sup>. Such chance mentions in contemporary documents are, however, of little use in

<sup>104</sup> Thietmar, *Chronicon*, *MGH Scriptores*, 3 (Hannover, 1839), p. 748. The presence of Greeks is suggested by the 'Griechen Markt' attested in Cologne around 1000 A.D.: H. Keussen, *Topographie der Stadt Köln im Mittelalter*, vol. 1 (Bonn, 1910), pp. 14, n. 11, 59; K.N. Ciggaar, 'The Empress Theophano (972-91): political and cultural implications of her presence in Western Europe, in particular for the county of Holland', *Byzantium and the Low Countries in the Tenth Century*, ed. V.D. van Aalst and K.N. Ciggaar (Hernen, 1985), pp. 33-60.

<sup>105</sup> Roger Bacon, *Opera Hactenus Quaedam Inedita*, ed. J.S. Brewer, *RS* 15 (London, 1859), pp. 91, 434; J.C. Russell, *Dictionary of Writers of Thirteenth Century England*, *Special Supplement to the Bulletin of Historical Research*, 3 (London, 1936), p. 89.

<sup>106</sup> A. Brutails, 'Étude sur l'esclavage en Roussillon du XIIIe au XVIIe siècle', *Nouvelle Revue Historique de Droit Français et Étranger*, 10 (1896), 388-417, esp. 390, n. 5; A. Rubió I Lluch, 'Mitteilungen zur Geschichte der Griechischen Sklaven in Katalonien im XIVe Jahrhundert', *BZ*, 30 (1930), 462-8; C. Verlinden, *L'esclavage dans l'Europe médiévale*, vol. 1 (Bruges, 1955), pp. 321-30.

<sup>107</sup> *ASVat Reg. Vat.* 499, f. 277; AN P1359, no. 769 (100); J.L.A. Huillard-Breholles, *Titres de la maison ducale de Bourbon*, vol. 2 (Paris, 1882), pp. 209-10; H. Dubrulle, *Bullaire de la province de Reims sous le pontificat de Pie II* (Lille, 1905), no. 143, p. 58. On Dishypatos see below p. 164.

<sup>108</sup> John Metham, *The Romance of Amoryus and Cleopes, Political Religious and Love Poems*, ed. J. Furnivall, *Early English Text Society*, 15 (London, 1903, 2nd ed.), p. 303; *Monumenta Vaticana Historiam Regni Hungariae Illustrantia*, vol. 4 (Budapest, 1889), no. CCVIII, p. 163; *VG*, p. 167.



building up a picture and assessing the numbers of Greeks living in Western Europe.

That the fifteenth century did see an increase in Greek immigrants outside Italy, however, is suggested by an examination of a unique body of unpublished source material relating to London in this period, the Alien Subsidy records.

In 1440 the English government decided to relieve its pressing financial problems by levying a tax on non-English residents of the realm, at a rate of sixteen pence for those in possession of a house and sixpence for non-householders. This tax, known as the Alien Subsidy was levied between 1441 and 1483 and during these years the local Justices of the Peace were responsible for drawing up lists of those eligible. These lists of aliens have largely survived and constitute the earliest surveys of immigrants ever made in Western Europe and as such are of vital importance in any attempt to trace a Greek presence in London<sup>109</sup>.

The four returns of aliens made between 1441 and 1443, for example, do reveal a number of Greeks to have been resident in the city. In the ward of Cripplegate, there were two householders described variously as 'Andreas Grekys et Alexander Grekys, socius suus' or Andreas and Alexander 'Esmafi'<sup>110</sup> along with their servant Peter who may have been of the same race<sup>111</sup>. There were two others called Michael, one a householder, the other not, in the ward of Broadstreet in 1441 and a 'Magister Thomas Greke' or 'Magister Thomas Physycian' was in the same ward during 1443<sup>112</sup>.

Of these five individuals, the identity of three can be substantiated from other sources. Andreas and Alexander 'Esmafi' are probably to be identified with the brothers Andronicus and Alexius 'Effomato', natives of the city of Constantinople and makers of 'damask gold' who received a royal safe-conduct in January 1445, allowing them

<sup>109</sup> CPR (1436-41), pp. 409-10; S.L. Thrupp, 'A survey of the alien population of England in 1440', *Speculum*, 32 (1957), 262-73; S.L. Thrupp, 'Aliens in and around London in the fifteenth century', *Studies in London History Presented to P.E. Jones*, ed. A.E.J. Hollaender and W. Kellaway (London, 1969), pp. 251-72, esp. pp. 251-5.

<sup>110</sup> PRO E179/144/42, f. 25; E179/144/50, f. 4; E179/144/53, f. 14; E179/144/52, f. 6.

<sup>111</sup> PRO E179/144/42, ff. 25, 37; E179/144/44, f. 2v.

<sup>112</sup> PRO E179/144/42, ff. 20, 30-30v; E179/144/52, f. 9; E179/144/53, f. 15; E179/144/50, f. 10.

and their four servants to remain in England and practice their craft<sup>113</sup>. The discrepancy in the names is probably to be explained by the lack of expertise in foreign languages among those who drew up the Alien Subsidy lists. Aldermen like William Estfeld, who oversaw those for the ward of Cripplegate, were hardly likely to have known any Greek or to have been familiar with Byzantine names. 'Esmafi' is probably merely an inept attempt to reproduce their real name of 'Effomatos' and the Christian names 'Andreas' (Andrew) and 'Alexander' simply homely substitutes for the unfamiliar 'Andronicus' and 'Alexius'. The royal scribe who produced the safe-conduct is much more likely to have been familiar with foreign names so that it is likely that his version, Andronicus and Alexius Effomatos, is the correct one, since it has the sound of authentic Greek<sup>114</sup>.

The third individual who can be identified from other sources is 'Magister Thomas Greke' or 'Magister Thomas Physycian' of Broadstreet ward. He is very likely to have been Thomas Frank, Master of Medicine and a native of Greece who sued for and received denizenship in the summer of 1436<sup>115</sup>. The other Greeks on the subsidy lists, however, like the two Michaels of Broadstreet, are not attested elsewhere. Neither are 'Nicolas Greke' who was included in the 1457 lists nor 'Matheus Grekus' who was living in Bishopsgate in 1483<sup>116</sup>.

The Alien Subsidy records do, therefore, establish that there were Greeks living in London during the fifteenth century. They do not, however, provide a systematic and full survey of them since they were never compiled with that intention. Foreign birth was the only criterion for inclusion on the lists and the justices were not interested in the origins of each particular individual. Those mentioned above can only be

<sup>113</sup> PRO C76/127, membrane 10; E28/74/11; *Foedera*, vol. 5, pt. I, p. 139 (= XI, 77): 'Pour Andronicus Effomato et Alexander Effomato, son firre, natifs de la citee de Constantinople en Grece, ouverriers d'or de damaske et pour quatre serviteurs en leur compaignie'. The servant Peter of the Alien Subsidy was probably one of these 'serviteurs'.

<sup>114</sup> It seems to consist of two words: εὖ, pronounced 'ev' or 'eff', meaning 'good', 'well' or 'beautiful' and ὀφθαλμός, the genitive of το ὄμμα, 'the eye'. On Estfeld see: S.L. Thrupp, *The Merchant Class of Medieval London* (Ann Arbor, 1962), p. 338 and on the Effomatos brothers see also below p. 181ff.

<sup>115</sup> PRO E28/57/112; C66/439, membrane 9; *Foedera*, vol. 5, pt. I, p. 33 (= X, 650); CPR (1429-36), p. 604; C.H. Talbot and E.A. Hammond, *The Medical Practitioners of Medieval England* (London, 1965), pp. 343-4. On Thomas Frank see below pp. 61, 135, 90, 164, 167.

<sup>116</sup> PRO E28/57/112; E179/236/74; E179/264/35, f. 5.



recognised as Greeks because their ethnic origin happened to be stated after their names but this was not always done so that it is possible that the lists contain the names of others of Greek race who go unrecognised. As names often underwent drastic anglicization, however, it is unwise to try to guess the ethnic origin of individuals like 'Katerina Inkepettis' who was recorded in the Canterbury assessment of 1440<sup>117</sup>.

Just as they provide an incomplete assessment of ethnic origins so the subsidy lists do not cover the entire century. No lists were made before 1440 nor after 1483 nor between 1469 and 1483 when the collection of the subsidy lapsed. Moreover, the lists tended to become shorter as time went on because more and more exemptions to the tax were granted. To sum up, then, not only is it likely that the Alien Subsidy lists contain the names of 'hidden' Greeks but also that some of those living in London did not find their way onto the lists at all, even during the period when the tax was levied.

From other sources come the names of Greeks who were clearly resident in London at some point or another but who never appear in the Alien Subsidy records. A physician called Demetrius 'de Cerno' was granted denization in 1424 and the refugee from Thessaly, Paul of Vlachia was resident in London between 1427 and at least 1434<sup>118</sup>, both too early to be affected by the Alien Subsidy. George Branas, the Athenian bishop of Dromore, was in London in the spring of 1497 but this was long after the last lists had been compiled<sup>119</sup>. A scribe called Demetrius Cantacuzenus was working in London in 1475 but this was during the period when the collection of the subsidy had lapsed<sup>120</sup>.

<sup>117</sup> PRO E179/124/107, f. 7. There does not, for example, seem to be one why 'Franke', the servant of Henry Putte at Winchester should have been 'probably a Greek' as concluded by D. Keene, *Survey of Medieval Winchester, Winchester Studies* (Oxford, 1985), p. 382, citing PRO E179/173/98. The name was a common one among the English themselves: *Foedera*, vol. 4, pt. II, p. 197 (= IX, 447); *Calendar of Plea and Memoranda Rolls of the City of London*, (1437-57), ed. P.E. Jones (Cambridge, 1954), p. 178; H.T. Riley, *Memorials of London and London Life in the XIIIth, XIVth and XVth centuries* (London, 1868), p. 655.

<sup>118</sup> *Foedera*, vol. 4, pt. IV, p. 128 (= X, 375); *CPR* (1422-9), p. 411; *PPC*, vol. 3, pp. 160-1, vol. 4, p. 216; Talbot and Hammond, pp. 34-5. On Paul of Vlachia see above p. 17 and on Demetrius see below p. 60, 164.

<sup>119</sup> GL ms. 9531/8, 3rd series, ff. 1v-3v; D. McRoberts, 'The Greek bishop of Dromore', *Innes Review*, 28 (1977), 22-38, esp. 27. On Branas, see below p. 93ff.

<sup>120</sup> BN ms grec 1731, f. 198; Nicol, *Byzantine Family of Kantakouzenos*, no. 100, p. 228. On Cantacuzenus, see below p. 146.

Several others, who were in London when the subsidy was being collected, for some reason never appear on the lists. Manuel Sophianos, a native of the Morea, received denizenship from Edward IV in July 1467, but was not included in the inquisition as to aliens made in September of that same year<sup>121</sup>. Nor was a servant in the household of the same king who came from Constantinople, was probably called Manuel and who accompanied Margaret of York to her marriage with the duke of Burgundy in 1468<sup>122</sup>. Nor was John Caramalos of Trebizond who appeared before the court of the Goldsmiths' Company in the same year<sup>123</sup>.

One is tempted to conclude, therefore, that Alexius Effomatos, the maker of 'damask gold', was exaggerating when he claimed in a plea to the Lord Chancellor that he was 'a Grieke and of an estraunge nation havng noone of his cuntree and tonge beyng dwellers withyn the seid citee'<sup>124</sup>. Since he was defending himself against a charge of debt he may well have been tempted to overstate the situation in order to present his case in the most favourable light.

Of course, the Greeks cannot have been as numerous as the Italians and Flemings who fill the Alien Subsidy lists and it is likely that many of them only stayed briefly in London. Only in the case of Thomas Frank and the Effomatos brothers can a residence of longer than ten years be proved, the former remaining between 1436 and at least 1447 and one

<sup>121</sup> PRO C66/520, membrane 7; *CPR* (1467-77), p. 65: 'Emanuel Sophianos, militi de patria Paleponiensi Greco oriundo'. The Sophiano were one of the most powerful families of the Byzantine Morea, so that this may be the Manuel Asanes Sophianos who was in Italy at the same time as the Despot Thomas: *LPP*, vol. 4, p. 238; Miller, *Latins in Levant*, p. 10. For the Alien Subsidy lists for September 1467 see PRO E179/144/70.

<sup>122</sup> Olivier de La Marche, *Mémoires, Collection universelle des mémoires particuliers relatifs à l'histoire de France*, vol. 2 (London and Paris, 1785), p. 182 who describes him as 'un petit nain de Constantinoble'. He is probably to be identified with the dwarf called Manuel mentioned by Sir John Paston in a letter of March 1470: *The Paston Letters*, ed. J. Gairdner (Edinburgh, 1910), vol. 2, p. 394.

<sup>123</sup> Goldsmiths' Company Archives, Minute Book A (1444-1516), pp. 122-4; T.F. Reddaway and L.E.M. Walker, *The Early History of the Goldsmiths' Company, 1327-1509* (London, 1975), p. 151. Caramalos was complaining against John Pyke, a finer, who had cheated him. He won his case and Pyke was fined two shillings by the court.

<sup>124</sup> PRO C1/11/294. Full text in Appendix III, below p. 195ff.



or other of the latter being recorded in all the subsidy lists right through to 1483<sup>125</sup>.

Nevertheless, the evidence is quite clear that they were there. Nor is there any reason why London in particular should have been chosen: it is likely that there existed similar pockets of Greeks in other cities such as Rouen, Paris and Bruges. Unfortunately, for these cities, there is no surviving documentation, like the Alien Subsidy records, through which to trace them<sup>126</sup>.

## 5. Conclusions

This chapter has shown, then, that Greeks were emigrating to the West in the fifteenth century both as a response to pressure from the Turks and for what might be termed 'economic' reasons. In both cases Italy was the most favoured destination but a variety of contemporary records clearly demonstrates that other, more distant countries, particularly France and England were also affected. Both refugees visiting temporarily to gather alms and permanent settlers were to be found there and, to judge by the evidence of the Alien Subsidy records they were by no means only nobles and scholars but also craftsmen and physicians.

Yet while it is not difficult to comprehend why so many people left Constantinople, Greece and the Greek islands in this period, the choice by many of them of some of the more distant countries of Western Europe as a place of refuge is not so easily explained. This point will be examined in the next chapter.

<sup>125</sup> Thomas Frank received denizenship in 1436 and was still in London in April 1447 when he was appointed executor in a will: PRO E28/57/112; CPR (1429-36), p. 604; GL ms 9171/4, f. 210. On his move to France, see the account of his tenure of the rectory of Brightwell, below p. 90. The Effomatos brothers are recorded in PRO E179/144/70; E179/236/96; E179/242/25, f. 10; E179/264/34, f. 5. On the date of the death of Andronicus Effomatos, see below p. 197.

<sup>126</sup> For references to Greeks in Rouen and Bruges see: M. Mollat, *Le commerce maritime normand à la fin du Moyen Age* (Paris, 1952), p. 509; E. Vanden Bussche, *Une question d'orient au moyen âge* (Bruges, 1878), p. 28.

## CHAPTER TWO

### Information and Motivation

Those Greeks attempting to travel or settle in Western Europe at this time would have faced many difficulties, particularly the persistence of anti-Greek prejudice, dating from the time of the later crusades and the disadvantages faced by any foreigner in a localised, medieval society. This chapter seeks to highlight some of the factors which helped to neutralise these disadvantages.

Western antipathy towards Greeks had developed during the twelfth century when public opinion had widely credited the Byzantines with contributing to the loss of Jerusalem. Their alliance with Saladin at the time of the Third Crusade was viewed as rank treachery and chronicles of the time portrayed them as constantly plotting the downfall of the crusaders<sup>1</sup>.

As a result, the notion of Greeks as scheming and untrustworthy became widespread. They were seen as inherently cowardly and weak and only capable of using underhand methods, 'soft and womanly', as Walter Map put it, 'voluble and deceitful, of no constancy or valour against an enemy ...'<sup>2</sup>. The religious divide exacerbated hostility and added heresy to the list of Greek vices<sup>3</sup>. The stereotype became embedded in western vernacular languages. *Grec* came to be synonymous in French with 'treacherous' and 'duplicitous' and it remained so for centuries<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Matthew Paris, *Chronica Maiora*, ed. H.R. Luard, RS 57, vol. 2 (London, 1874), p. 338; *Eulogium Historiarum*, ed. F.S. Haydon, RS 9, vol. 1 (London, 1858), p. 386; *Anonymi Gesta Francorum et Aliorum Hierosolimitanorum*, ed. B.A. Lees (Oxford, 1924), pp. 10-11; Ostrogorsky, *History*, pp. 406-7; M. Angold, *The Byzantine Empire, 1025-1204* (London, 1984), pp. 206-8.

<sup>2</sup> Walter Map, *De Nugis Curialium*, trans. M.R. James, *Cymmrodorion Record Society*, 9 (London, 1923), p. 95.

<sup>3</sup> A fourteenth century Papal bull equates Greeks with infidels; 'Graecos, schismaticos et alios infideles': *Lettres communes des Papes d'Avignon - Jean XXII* (1316-34), ed. G. Mollat, vol. 4 (Paris, 1906), no. 16672, p. 213; *Monumenta Vaticana Historiam Regni Hungariae Illustrantia*, vol. 4, no. DCI, p. 535.

<sup>4</sup> A thirteenth century French proverb ran 'Li plus traitours sont en Gresce': K.R. Nyrop, *Grammaire historique de la langue française*, vol. 4 (Copenhagen, 1913), p. 385. Randle Cotgrave's *A Dictionarie of the French and English Tongues* (London, 1611) defined *Grec* as 'A most craftie or subtil courtier'. Even the 1935 edition of Harrap's *Standard French and English Dictionary*, gives the definitions 'a



Such attitudes were still very much in evidence in the fifteenth century. The Spanish traveller, Pero Tafur, dismissed the inhabitants of Constantinople as 'a vicious people, steeped in sin' and an English visitor to Corfu in about 1506, recorded darkly that the inhabitants 'speke all Greke and be Grekes in dede'<sup>5</sup>. The Venetian, Giovanni Bembo, exemplified popular attitudes in his compulsion to explain in his autobiography that although he had married a Greek, his wife did not herself like her compatriots<sup>6</sup>.

There was even a minority opinion which regarded the fall of Constantinople as a well-merited divine punishment. One view, expressed by the anti-Byzantine, Leonard of Chios, judged the calamity to be just retribution on the Greeks for failing to bring their church into line with that of the West, as had been agreed at the Council of Florence<sup>7</sup>. Others saw it as the final reckoning for the sack of Troy and the Turks as avengers of the ancient Trojans, from whom they were believed to be descended. This unlikely tale gained widespread credence throughout Europe and Pope Pius II specifically argued against it in his work on the origins of the Turks<sup>8</sup>.

The persistence of this prejudice meant that Greeks were not always well received. At Ulm, an elderly Greek monk who was collecting money for the repair of the monastery of St. Catherine's on Mount Sinai, faced a hostile response. It was his misfortune that a priest of that city, Felix Faber, had himself travelled as a pilgrim to Sinai and had not

cardsharper' or 'a welsher' and mentions the phrase *vol à la grecque* as meaning a confidence trick.

<sup>5</sup> A.A. Vasiliev, 'Pero Tafur - A Spanish traveller of the fifteenth century and his visit to Constantinople, Trebizond and Italy', *Byzantion*, 7 (1932), 75-122, esp. 113; *The Pilgrimage of Sir Richard Guylforde*, ed. H. Ellis, *Camden Society*, 51 (London, 1850), p. 11. A German contemporary seems to have held a similar opinion, believing that 'dar ist geyn gelove noch truwe in den Greken': *Hansisches Urkundenbuch*, ed. W. Stein, vol. 11 (Munich and Leipzig, 1916), no. 737, p. 474.

<sup>6</sup> Giovanni Bembo, *Autobiographie*, ed. T. Mommsen, *Sitzungsberichte der Königlich Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Philologisch Klasse*, 1 (1861), 593.

<sup>7</sup> Leonard of Chios, col. 943; Ducas, bk. XXXIX, pp. 289-90. Ducas was himself a Greek but also a supporter of the Union and so he blames his own people for their obstinacy.

<sup>8</sup> Chalcocondyles, bk. VIII, p. 403; Pius II, *Opera Omnia* (Basle, 1551), p. 394. The story appears in the work of the English writer, Thomas Gascoigne, *Loci et Libro Veritatum*, ed. J.E. Thorold-Rogers (Oxford, 1881), p. 16; T. Spencer, 'Turks and Trojans in the Renaissance', *Modern Language Review*, 47 (1952), 330-3.

considered his reception in the monastery, nor the behaviour of the Greeks in general, to have been of a standard to warrant anything in return. He therefore advised the people not to give the monk anything and to expel him from the city<sup>9</sup>.

Apart from specific anti-Greek prejudice, there was also the fact that all foreigners could be viewed with suspicion in a society where they were rare, especially outside the more cosmopolitan atmosphere of Italy. Some of the refugees faced actual harassment for this reason. Michael Palaeologus, who was in the Low Countries in 1510, was taken for an Italian spy at Turnhout and in spite of his claim that he was collecting alms to free captives and his possession of Papal bulls to prove it, he was thrown into jail<sup>10</sup>. Most sinister of all is the grim note that at Douai, 'Manuel Théodore de Constantinople, après avoir été interrogé en Grec, est condamné et exécuté par le feu'<sup>11</sup>.

The case of the refugees may have been further damaged by unscrupulous people who solicited alms on false pretences. There was the case of the Frenchman Gerard who claimed to be the founder of a crusading order and the group of bogus ambassadors from non-existent Eastern monarchs who toured the courts of Europe during 1460 and 1461. Like Pius II, the local population may have grown 'suspicious of any communications from the East, especially when they were brought by men who were poor and unknown'<sup>12</sup>.

This seems to have been the attitude of the échevins of Rouen towards two Byzantines who solicited their aid in 1460. Although they did not send them away empty handed, they obviously doubted their story that one of them had been the treasurer of the Byzantine emperor and that

<sup>9</sup> *The Wanderings of Felix Fabri*, trans. A. Stewart, vol. 2, *Palestine Pilgrims Text Society*, 10 (London, 1897), pp. 621-3. The monk later received generous support from the western emperor and the king of Hungary.

<sup>10</sup> ASVat Armario 39, vol. 22, ff. 317-317v (orig. 326-326v); ADN B18834, no. 27231, ff. 307-307v (orig. B855, no. 27231); IADNB, vol. 1, pt. 2, p. 63. The same man was also the subject of an indulgence printed in England in around 1510: BL C110.e.10; STC, 14077c.117A-121A.

<sup>11</sup> *Inventaire analytique des archives communales (Douai)*, p. 30.

<sup>12</sup> Pius II, *Commentaries*, trans. F.A. Gragg and L.C. Gabel, *Smith College Studies in History*, 22, 25, 30, 35, 43 (Northampton, Mass., 1936-57), pp. 371-4, 790-2; A.A.M. Bryer, 'Ludovico da Bologna and the Georgian-Anatolian embassy of 1460-1', *Bedi Kartlisa - Revue de Kartvéologie*, 19-20 (1965), 178-98.



their families had been taken prisoner by the Turks<sup>13</sup>. It is clear that many of the refugees had great difficulty in raising the sums needed to pay ransoms. A noblewoman from the Morea called Theodosia who was given a letter of indulgence by Pope Sixtus IV in 1475 was still in the West in 1491, the required sum apparently not yet amassed<sup>14</sup>.

This is not, however, the whole story and in general the picture is far more positive, partly due to changing attitudes in the West, both among rulers and people, and this development will be discussed in the second half of the chapter. First, however, it will be shown that many of the refugees and migrants had already equipped themselves to survive in their new environment by being well informed about the host country and by taking advantage of the commercial network established by Venice.

### 1. Changing attitudes in Byzantium

The hostility shown towards the Byzantines by Westerners in the thirteenth century had been reciprocated, especially after the sack of Constantinople by the Franco-Venetian Fourth Crusade in 1204 and the rift was compounded by the growing divergences in ritual, practice and doctrine which divided the eastern and western churches. The Byzantines regarded the addition of the word *filioque* to the western creed as heretical and resented the insistent demands of the papacy to be recognised as the supreme authority over the churches of Christendom<sup>15</sup>.

It has long been recognised, however, that from the later thirteenth century a small group of Byzantine intellectuals came to differ with the harsh judgements of their contemporaries and to actively admire the culture and religion of the West. Men like Maximus Planudes (c.1255-c.1305) and Demetrius Cydones (c.1324-c.1398) learned Latin and produced Greek translations of theological works. Cydones in particular claimed to have discovered in the process that the theological tradition of the West was in no way inferior to his own and even in some respects

<sup>13</sup> C. Richard, 'Recherches historiques sur Rouen - extraits des registres des délibérations du conseil municipal, de 1389 à 1471', *Revue de Rouen et de Normandie*, 13 (1845), 75: 'Donné fut en gratuite à Démétrios, chevalier, jadis (soi disant) trésorier de feu l'empereur de Constantinople, et Andriocus aussi chevalier de Constantinople, prisonniers es mains des Turcs, ennemis de notre Sainte Foy, eux, leurs femmes et enfants (qu'ils disent) la somme de 60 sous tournois'.

<sup>14</sup> ASVat Reg. Vat. 665, f. 154; Reg. Vat. 688, ff. 42-42v; Gottlob, p. 187.

<sup>15</sup> D.M. Nicol, 'The Byzantine view of Western Europe', *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies*, 8 (1967), 315-39, esp. 326-31; Ostrogorsky, *History*, p. 337, n.1.

superior<sup>16</sup>. He and a few others, like Manuel Calecas and the brothers Maximus, Theodore and Andreas Chrysoberges, became converts to Catholicism<sup>17</sup>.

Of course, this better informed, pro-western element constituted only a minority of the Byzantine population. Many remained hostile to the Latins and ignorant of the West right up to the fall of Constantinople<sup>18</sup>. Even so, the presence of Byzantine craftsmen like the Effomatos brothers in London suggests that there was a group of people in Constantinople who, while not sharing the intellectual pursuits of Cydones, were well enough informed about Western Europe to be able to establish themselves there. The question is, how did they obtain their information?

In this regard the crucial date is, perhaps, the year 1394 when Yildirim Bayezid laid siege to Constantinople and for the first time it began to look as though the city would fall into infidel hands. In desperation, the emperor, Manuel II, mounted a diplomatic offensive on the West, to appeal for assistance against the common foe. This was by no means the first time a Byzantine emperor had petitioned to the West in this way. Ambassadors from Constantinople had been frequent visitors to Italy over the previous fifty years and in 1369 Manuel's father, John V (1341-91), had personally visited Rome in the hope that by accepting Catholicism he could induce the Pope to send help to his beleaguered

<sup>16</sup> Demetrius Cydones, *Apologia della propria fede*, in G. Mercati, *Notizie di Procoro e Demetrio Cidone, Manuele Caleca e Teodoro Meliteniota, Studi e Testi*, 56 (Vatican City, 1931), pp. 365, 373, 401; C. Wendel, 'Maximos Planudes', *Pauly-Wissowa Real-Encyclopädie*, vol. 20, cols. 2202-53; F. Kianka, *Demetrius Cydones (c.1324-1397): Intellectual and Diplomatic Relations between Byzantium and the West in the Fourteenth Century*, Fordham University Ph.D. thesis (1981), pp. 93-136; F. Kianka, 'The Apology of Demetrius Cydones: a fourteenth century autobiographical source', *Byzantine Studies*, 7 (1980), 57-71, esp. 67, 70, n. 82; Setton, 'Byzantine background', 52-7.

<sup>17</sup> Manuel II, *Letters*, no. 30, pp. 75-9 and p. 78, n. 1; Kianka, 'Apology', 60, n. 19; R.-J. Loenertz, 'Les Dominicains byzantins Théodore et André Chrysobergès et les négociations pour l'union des églises grecque et latine', *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum*, 9 (1939), 5-61.

<sup>18</sup> Cydones, *Apologia*, p. 370; Kianka, 'Apology', 65; Ducas, ch. XXXVII, pp. 263-4; Sphrantzes, bk. XXXVI, ch. 5, p. 102; Runciman, *Fall*, pp. 71-2.



empire<sup>19</sup>. The efforts of Manuel II, however, differed from those of his predecessor in having a much wider geographical scope.

As early as 1395 a Byzantine ambassador had reached Lyons, although he mission seems to have achieved little as no translator could be found<sup>20</sup>. It was during 1397 and 1398, however, that the diplomatic effort really gained momentum with the arrival in Paris in April 1397 of Nicolas Notaras<sup>21</sup>. There he was joined by Theodore Palaeologus Cantacuzenus, the uncle of Manuel II, who reached Paris in October and presented the king, Charles VI (1380-1422), with a letter from the emperor, appealing for the help of the French to raise the siege of Constantinople<sup>22</sup>.

Early the following year, one or both of them probably ventured still further. Generous gifts were bestowed on them both by the king and the duke of Orleans and it was stipulated that some of the money given

<sup>19</sup> Demetrius Cydones, *Correspondance*, ed. and trans. G. Cammelli (Paris, 1930), no. 16, pp. 37-9; F. Kianka, 'Byzantine-Papal diplomacy: the role of Demetrius Cydones', *International History Review*, 7 (1985), 175-213; Setton, 'Byzantine background', 46, 55-7. O. Halecki, *Un Empereur de Byzance à Rome* (Warsaw, 1930), pp. 192-6.

<sup>20</sup> A. Champollion-Figéac, *Louis et Charles, Ducs d'Orléans, leur influence sur les arts, la littérature et l'esprit de leur siècle* (Paris, 1844), 3 vols. Accounts given in secondary works of the missions of 1397-8 differ widely. See the conflicting versions given by: Barker, *Manuel II*, pp. 154-60; Nicol, *Byzantine Family of Kantakouzenos*, no. 57, pp. 165-6; F. Dölger, *Regesten der Kaisererkunden des oströmischen Reiches von 565-1453*, vol. 5 (Munich and Berlin, 1965), nos. 3269 and 3271, p. 85. As far as possible what follows is based solely on contemporary documents and chronicles: ASV Privilegi, reg. 1, f. 125. Full text in Barker, *Manuel II*, appendix XII, pp. 486-7; G.M. Thomas, *Diplomatarium Veneto-Levanticum*, vol. 2 (Venice, 1889), nos. 149-50, pp. 261-3; R. Predelli, *I Libri Commemoriali della repubblica di Venezia - registi*, vol. 3 (Venice, 1883), bk. IX, no. 126, p. 262; Du Cange, *Historia Byzantina*, p. 242.

<sup>21</sup> *Chronique du Religieux de Saint Denis*, ed. M.G. Bellaguet, *Collection des documents inédits sur l'histoire de France*, vol. 2 (Paris, 1840), pp. 558-61; *Le livre des faits du Mareschal de Boucicaut*, ed. J.F. Michaud and J.J.F. Poujoulat, *Nouvelle Collection des Mémoires pour Servir à l'Histoire de France*, vol. 2 (Paris, 1836), p. 247; Jean Jouvenal des Ursins, *Histoire de Charles VI*, ed. J.F. Michaud and J.J.F. Poujoulat, *Nouvelle Collection des Mémoires pour Servir à l'Histoire de France*, vol. 2 (Paris, 1836), p. 412; Barker, *Manuel II*, pp. 155-6, 488-9. Cantacuzenus may have journeyed to Venice on the Byzantine galeotto under the command of Phocas Sevastopoulos which carried a number of imperial ambassadors there during 1397: Predelli, *Libri Commemoriali*, vol. 3, bk. IX, no. 72, p. 248.

to Cantacuzenus was to enable him to cross the channel<sup>23</sup>. On 23 April 1398, 'Antonium Notara', probably Nicolas Notaras, delivered a similar letter of appeal to the king of England, Richard II (1377-1400)<sup>24</sup>. Both Cantacuzenus and Notaras then seem to have returned to Venice in the summer of 1398<sup>25</sup> but they were followed by a delegation led by Manuel's Genoese son-in-law, Ilario Doria, who toured Italy before going on to England, and therefore probably France too, early in 1399<sup>26</sup>.

The emperor may well have been encouraged by the initial results of having made contact with these distant rulers. In 1399 a French force of twelve hundred men was dispatched to Constantinople and although Richard II excused himself from doing likewise at the present, he did send an ambassador, Henry Godard<sup>27</sup>. This may have influenced Manuel's decision to leave his capital and travel to Western Europe in person, between 1399 and 1402, to promote his cause in person<sup>28</sup>.

<sup>23</sup> Du Cange, *Historia Byzantina*, pp. 238, 242; Champollion-Figéac, *Louis et Charles*, vol. 3, p. 40 both citing French treasury documents.

<sup>24</sup> *Official Correspondence of Thomas Bekynston (Memorials of the Reign of Henry VI)*, ed. G. Williams, RS 56, vol. 1 (London, 1872), no. CCII, pp. 285-7; *English Historical Documents, 1327-1485*, ed. A.R. Myers (London, 1969), no. 75, pp. 174-5. However, Barker, *Manuel II*, pp. 154, n. 46, 156, n. 49 believes that this letter was delivered by a later embassy.

<sup>25</sup> ASV Privilegi, reg. 1, ff. 125, 129v; Thomas, *Diplomatarium Veneto-Levanticum*, vol. 2, nos. 149-50, pp. 261-3; Predelli, *Libri Commemoriali*, vol. 3, bk. IX, no. 120, p. 260 and no. 126, p. 262.

<sup>26</sup> PRO C76/83, membrane 6; *Foedera*, vol. 3, pt. IV, p. 154 (= VIII, 65-6); G. Müller, *Documenti sulle relazioni delle città toscane* (Florence, 1879), no. XCVIII, pp. 146-7; Dölger, *Regesten*, vol. 5, no. 3271, p. 85. For another group of ambassadors in England in 1400, see: *Anglo-Norman Letters and Petitions from All Souls ms. 182*, ed. D. Legge, *Anglo-Norman Texts*, 3 (London, 1941), no. 410, pp. 465-6. Either Doria or Theodore Cantacuzenus could have been the 'cousin of the emperor of Constantinople' knighted by Richard II at Lichfield: PRO E404/16/373.

<sup>27</sup> PRO E101/320/17; E364/42, membrane 3v; E403/555, membrane 17; *Livre des faits*, pp. 247-9; Ostrogorsky, *History*, pp. 551-2, 555; Setton, *Papacy and Levant*, vol. 1, pp. 345-7.

<sup>28</sup> J. Berger de Xivrey, 'Mémoire sur la vie et les ouvrages de l'empereur Manuel Paléologue', *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, 19 (1853), pt. 2, 1-201, esp. 96-122; M. Jugie, 'Le voyage de l'empereur Manuel Paléologue en occident (1399-1403)', *Échos d'Orient*, 15 (1912), 322-32; G. Schlumberger, *Un Empereur de Byzance à Paris et à Londres* (Paris, 1916); M.A. Andreeva, 'Zur Reise Byzantine emperor in England', *BZ*, 34 (1934), 37-47; D.M. Nicol, 'A (1970), 205-55. For the evidence for Manuel's having visited Rome while in Italy, see Manuel II, *Funeral Oration*, p. 162, n. 88.



The emperor's visit was, in fact only the beginning of the Byzantine diplomatic offensive. His return to Constantinople was soon followed by the arrival in Paris and London of more delegations in 1402, 1406 and 1409<sup>29</sup>. Moreover, the net began to be cast still wider in the search for aid as Alexius Branas was sent to the Spanish kingdoms of Aragon, Castile and Navarre and another unnamed individual to Scandinavia<sup>30</sup>. The emperor's friend and advisor, Manuel Chrysoloras, toured Europe indefatigably on his behalf, spending time in Italy, France, England, Spain and the Empire<sup>31</sup>.

Manuel's son and successor, John VIII (1425-48) was impelled by the worsening situation to greater efforts. In 1438 he led a delegation to a church council in Florence where the union of the churches was proclaimed and the schism declared to be at an end<sup>32</sup>. However, he did not abandon his father's policy of appealing directly to the more distant nations of Europe. Apart from sending representations to the Venetians and the Pope<sup>33</sup>, in 1443 he despatched Theodore Carystinos first to Italy

<sup>29</sup> PRO E101/404/21, ff. 38, 39v; J.H. Wylie, *History of England under Henry IV*, vol. 4 (London, 1898), pp. 200, 203; CCR (1402-5), p. 43; *Ordonnances des rois de France de la troisième race*, vol. 9, ed. D.F. Secousse (Paris, 1755), pp. 109, 148-9, 427-8, 433-5.

<sup>30</sup> C. Marinesco, 'Du nouveau sur les relations de Manuel II Paléologue (1391-1425) avec l'Espagne', *Atti dello VIII Congresso Internazionale di Studi Bizantini e Neellenici*, 7 (1953), 420-36; G.T. Dennis, 'Two unknown documents of Manuel II Palaeologus', *Travaux et Mémoires*, 3 (1968), 397-404. The Greeks who visited the city of Cologne and who travelled around the Baltic Lands in the early fifteenth century may also have been ambassadors: S.G. Mercati, 'Di Giovanni Simeonachis, protopapa di Candia', *Miscellanea G. Mercati*, vol. 3, *Studi e Testi*, 123 (Vatican City, 1946), p. 336; S.P. Lambros, 'Κανάνος Λάσκαρις καὶ Βασίλειος Βατάτζης - δύο Ἑλληνες περιηγηταὶ τοῦ ΙΕ' καὶ ΙΗ' αἰώνος', *Μουσ. du Louvre, Paris, Ivoires* A53, f. 237v; Vespasiano, p. 235; *Chronique du Religieux de Saint Denis*, vol. 5, p. 456; I. Thompson, 'Manuel Chrysoloras and the early Italian Renaissance', *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies*, 7 (1966), 63-82; G. Cammelli, *I dotti bizantini e le origini dell'umanesimo. I: Manuele Crisolora* (Florence, 1941), pp. 43ff, 146-7; C. Marinesco, 'Manuel II Paléologue et les rois d'Aragon', *Bulletin de la Section Historique de l'Académie Roumaine*, 11 (1924), 192-206; Barker, *Manuel II*, pp. 263-6.

<sup>31</sup> Musée du Louvre, Paris, Ivoires A53, f. 237v; Vespasiano, p. 235; *Chronique du Religieux de Saint Denis*, vol. 5, p. 456; I. Thompson, 'Manuel Chrysoloras and the early Italian Renaissance', *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies*, 7 (1966), 63-82; G. Cammelli, *I dotti bizantini e le origini dell'umanesimo. I: Manuele Crisolora* (Florence, 1941), pp. 43ff, 146-7; C. Marinesco, 'Manuel II Paléologue et les rois d'Aragon', *Bulletin de la Section Historique de l'Académie Roumaine*, 11 (1924), 192-206; Barker, *Manuel II*, pp. 263-6.

<sup>32</sup> J. Gill, *The Council of Florence* (Cambridge, 1959), pp. 412-15; Setton, *Papacy and Levant*, vol. 2, pp. 59-66.

<sup>33</sup> ASV Senato, Secreta reg. 8, f. 113v (orig. 112v); Secreta reg. 16, f. 224v; Iorga, *Notes et extraits*, vol. 1 = ROL 7 (1900), 56; Thiriet, *Régestes*, vol. 3, no. 2702, p. 128.

and then to Chalons-sur-Mer, where he explained to the duke of Burgundy the perilous situation in the East<sup>34</sup>.

In the final days of Constantinople, the last desperate appeals were directed to the Pope and the Italian city states, rather than to the kings of France, England and Spain<sup>35</sup>. However, after 1483 the two despots of the Morea, Thomas and Demetrius Palaeologus, although they made frequent requests to Italy for aid<sup>36</sup>, also searched further afield in the hope of staving off their fate. Early in 1456 Thomas sent John Argyropoulos to the Pope, the duke of Milan and the rulers of France and England<sup>37</sup>. The envoy of the rival despot, Demetrius, was Franciskus Servopoulos. In December 1455 he was provided with letters of recommendation addressed to the Pope and the king of France and he arrived in Rome in February of the following year, well in advance of Argyropoulos<sup>38</sup>. Servopoulos then set out for Milan and beyond, but he

<sup>34</sup> ASV Senato, Secreta reg. 16, f. 7; Thiriet, *Régestes*, vol. 3, no. 2603, p. 101; Iorga, *Notes et extraits*, vol. 2, p. 396; Jehan de Waurin, *Recueil des chroniques et anciennes istories de la Grant Bretagne*, ed. W. Hardy and L. C. P. Hardy, RS 30, vol. 5 (London, 1891), pp. 22-3.

<sup>35</sup> ASV Senato, Mar reg. 4, f. 2; Thiriet, *Régestes*, vol. 3, no. 2838, p. 159; Marino Sanudo, *Vite de' duchi di Venezia*, RIS 22 (Milan, 1733), col. 1141; Iorga, *Notes et extraits*, vol. 2, pp. 51, 53-4, vol. 4, p. 46; Gill, *Council of Florence*, p. 377; *Historia Miscella Bononiensis*, RIS 18 (Bologna, 1731), col. 700; Cerone, 'La politica orientale', ASPN, 27 (1902), 616-24; Marinesco, 'Notes sur quelques ambassadeurs', 419-28; R. Guillard, 'Les appels de Constantin XI Paléologue à Rome et à Venise pour sauver Constantinople', *Byzantinoslavica*, 14 (1953), 226-44.

<sup>36</sup> ASV Senato, Secreta reg. 20, f. 151 (orig. 149), dated 8 June 1458 'Venit ad presentiam nostram unus orator illustris dicti domini despoti Thome Paleologi despoti Amoree: et narratis dubiis et periculis statim dicti domini despoti propter apparatus Turchorum contra eum, petierit a nobis subsidium et favorem'. ASV Senato, Secreta reg. 8, ff. 108v-109, 111v-112v (orig. 107v-108, 110v-111v); Sathas, *Documents*, vol. 1, pp. 232-6; Sphrantzes, bk. III, ch. 10-11, pp. 106-8.

<sup>37</sup> BN ms français 32511, f. 184 mentions 68 livres, 15 sols paid to 'Jehan Argiropoulos'; PRO E403/807 and E403/808, membrane 7, record a gift of ten pounds to 'Iohanni Agiropulus de Constantynople'; Filelfo, *Epistolae* (1506), bk. XIII, 15 kalends June 1456; A. Cappelli, 'Giovanni ed Isaaco Argiropulo', *Archivio Storico Lombardo*, 2nd series, vol. 8, 18 (1891), 170; Gray, 'Greek visitors', pp. 87-92; G. Cammelli, *I dotti bizantini e le origini dell'umanesimo. II: Giovanni Argiropulo* (Florence, 1941), pp. 65-84.

<sup>38</sup> ASR MC 832, f. 84; ASVat Introitus et Exitus 430, f. 131v (orig. 130v), 431, f. 87v (orig. 131v); Du Cange, *Historia Byzantina*, p. 244; Cappelli, 'Giovanni ed Isaaco Argiropulo', 168-9.



did not reach England until the autumn and so may have lingered in France or possibly the duchy of Burgundy<sup>39</sup>.

Sad to say, none of these embassies ultimately achieved their main object of persuading the western powers to send a massive relief expedition to Constantinople. The mission of Nicolas Agallon who toured France, England and the Empire in 1454-5, probably on the orders of one or other of the despots of the Morea, is a case in point<sup>40</sup>. He was cordially received. The Western emperor made him a count palatine<sup>41</sup> and the kings of France and England gave him generous gifts of money but as far as achieving his primary objective was concerned, he met with a dismal failure. In England the court was too busy with faction fighting to respond positively. Consequently, the French king, Charles VII, refused to commit himself to any such enterprise, in case the English should take advantage and try to regain their lost conquests in France<sup>42</sup>.

In spite of the minimal success they attained, however, these diplomatic contacts presented many opportunities to Byzantine nobles and statesmen to travel abroad as ambassadors or as members of imperial retinues. No less than seven hundred followers went with John VIII to Florence, including his brother Demetrius Palaeologus, the patriarch of Constantinople, twenty bishops and three of the foremost Byzantine intellectuals, John Argyropoulos, Gemistos Plethon and George

<sup>39</sup> PRO E404/71/1/31; E403/809, membrane 2, dated 14 October 1456: 'Faniculus Servopulus. Greke also comyng to us from oure Holy Fadre the Pope with message ... to the said Greke, L marc and a coler of gold of X marc'.

<sup>40</sup> BN ms français 16216, ff. 45-49, 75v-79; N. Valois, 'Fragment d'un registre du Grand Conseil de Charles VII (mars-juin 1455)', *Annuaire Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire de France*, 19 (1882), 273-308, esp. 283-93.

<sup>41</sup> J. Chmel, *Regesta Chronologico-Diplomatica Frederici IV (III), Romanorum Regis* (Vienna, 1838), no. 3175, p. 319; Valois, 'Fragment', 284; Sathas, *Documents*, vol. 9, pp. XL-XLI where the date 10 March 1454 is given, rather than April as in Chmel and Valois. Since Sathas was only reproducing Chmel's document, it would seem that the latter's date is the correct one, especially as it agrees with Valois's source.

<sup>42</sup> BN ms français 32511, f. 175v: 'Nicolas Agallo du pays de Grèce, LV livres en aumosne'. Agallon was in England between September and December 1454, so he was, probably the 'Nicolas Greke' who was awarded fifty marks by Henry VI on 4 December: PRO E404/70/2/39; Valois, 'Fragment', 284.

<sup>43</sup> Valois, 'Fragment', 292-3; Mathieu d'Escouchy, *Chronique*, ed. G. du Fresne de Beaucourt, vol. 2 (Paris, 1863), pp. 311-14.

Amiroutzes<sup>44</sup>. Such exposure to Western Europe must have had the result of spreading a knowledge of it in Byzantium and of making its people more sympathetic towards western religion and culture.

Much of this was the admiration of a small coterie of intellectuals, like Demetrius Cydones in an earlier generation. Converts to Catholicism like Michael Apostolis and Cardinal Bessarion made no secret of their admiration for Italy and even came to regard its culture as superior to their own<sup>45</sup>. However, in the period after 1400 there seems to be some difference. Not only did many Byzantines become well informed about countries beyond Italy, particularly England and France, but this wider knowledge was also more widely diffused through Byzantine society.

Turning to the first point, the visit of Manuel II and the other Byzantine embassies to France, England and Spain must have greatly increased what was known about these countries in Constantinople. While he was in Paris, for example, Manuel II wrote a detailed account of the removal of the papacy to Avignon during the fourteenth century in his *Discourse on the Procession of the Holy Spirit*, so that it is likely that he picked up his information from his hosts<sup>46</sup>. Two intriguing English documents reveal that some of his companions made an effort to find out more about the country in which they found themselves. They apparently embarked on discussions about the language of the scriptures with the English clergy<sup>47</sup> and remained in England for a time after the emperor's

<sup>44</sup> Silvester Syropoulos, *Mémoires*, ed. V. Laurent, *Concilium Florentinum Documenta et Scriptorum*, 9 (Rome, 1971), bk. V, ch. 3, p. 258; Ducas, ch. XXXI, p. 214; Gill, *Council of Florence*, p. 188; Setton, 'Byzantine background', 70.

<sup>45</sup> LPP, vol. 4, pp. 32-45; B. Laourdas, 'Μιχαήλ Ἀποστόλη περὶ Ἑλλάδος καὶ Ἑὐρώπης', *EEBS*, 19 (1949), 235-44; D.J. Geanakoplos, 'A Byzantine looks at the Renaissance', *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies*, 1 (1958), 157-62, esp. 160-1; A.G. Keller, 'A Byzantine admirer of "western" progress: Cardinal Bessarion', *Cambridge Historical Journal*, 11 (1953-5), 343-8; I. Ševčenko, 'The decline of Byzantium as seen by its intellectuals', *DOP*, 15 (1961), 169-86, esp. 176.

<sup>46</sup> BAV Vat. Gr. 1107, ff. 8v-9v; Barb. Gr. 219, ff. 98-99. Manuel specifically refers to his visit to the West in another of his works, so that it may be from personal experience that he derived his appraisal of the character of the Latins outlined there: Manuel II, *Funeral Oration*, pp. 162, 175-6.

<sup>47</sup> GL ms 9531/10, f. 49v (orig. 45v); C. Sturge, *Cuthbert Tunstall* (London, 1938), p. 133.



departure early in 1401, in order to make a small tour, taking in Staines, Windsor and other places<sup>48</sup>.

Information brought back from foreign travel is reflected in Byzantine literature of the time. Traditionally Byzantine writers had been vague and inaccurate when describing lands and peoples other than their own. Much of this was due to literary convention rather than chauvinism or ignorance but even so, it reflects a lack of concern for things western among earlier authors<sup>49</sup>. By way of contrast, it is possible to see a wider knowledge of the West behind the facade of artificial language in Byzantine literature of this later period, especially in the description of France and England written by the historian Laonicos Chalcocondyles, to accompany his account of the wanderings of Manuel II<sup>50</sup>.

On the surface Chalcocondyles preserved all the classical forms. He insisted on referring to lands and people by archaic terms like 'Gaul' (Γαλλία) and 'British' (Βρετανικός), just as Procopius of Caesarea had done in a similar passage written some nine hundred years previously<sup>51</sup>. He was, moreover, seemingly content to derive not only his style from his classical predecessors but some of his information as well. His assertion that Britain was one island when the tide was out and three when it was in is so similar to a passage by the ancient writer Diodorus Siculus, that

<sup>48</sup> PRO E101/404/14, f. 3; Wylie, *History of England*, vol. 4, p. 198; Nicol, 'Byzantine emperor', 222, n. 5 who adds Gloucester to the list of towns visited following A. Mompherratos, Διπλωματικά ἐνέργειαι Μανουήλ Β' τοῦ Παλαιολόγου ἐν Εὐρώπῃ καὶ Ἀσίᾳ (Athens, 1913), p. 41, n. 3. Mompherratos read this document, which he cites under its old reference of K.R. Wardrobe 63/8, as stating that the visit was to Staines, Windsor and 'Cloastere'. This is incorrect, the actual wording being: 'Stanens, Wyndesore et aillours ...'.

<sup>49</sup> Anna Comnena's account of the Investiture Controversy, for example, makes it sound like a farce: Anna Comnena, bk. I, ch. 13, vol. 1, pp. 62-8; Nicol, 'Byzantine view', 315-16; C. Galatariotou, 'Travel and perception in Byzantium', *DOP* 47 (1993), 221-41.

<sup>50</sup> Chalcocondyles, bk. II, pp. 85-94. A German translation can be found in K. Dieterich, *Byzantinische Quellen zur Länder und Völkerkunde, 5-15 Jahrhundert* (Hildesheim, 1973, 2nd ed.), pp. 124-5.

<sup>51</sup> Cf. Procopius, *The History of the Wars*, trans. H.B. Dewing, vol. 5 (London, 1928), bk. VIII, ch. 20, pp. 264-70; A.R. Burn, 'Procopius and the island of ghosts', *EHR* 70 (1955), 258-61.

one cannot help but suspect that Chalcocondyles simply incorporated it into his own work, a practice not uncommon among Byzantine authors<sup>52</sup>.

His description cannot be dismissed as just a literary exercise, however, since it does include some undeniably authentic information, such as the fact that the English exported wool and used longbows in war, as well as a coherent account of some of the events of the Hundred Years War. He knew about the battle of Agincourt and Joan of Arc, although he was not always entirely accurate, believing that Joan was killed in a battle. Nonetheless his account represents an advance on the one line bestowed on the subject by the earlier writer, Nicephorus Gregoras<sup>53</sup>.

Indeed, some of Chalcocondyles's remarks receive corroboration from eye-witness accounts. He expressed his astonishment at the freedom enjoyed by English women, who actually greeted visitors to the house on the threshold with a kiss, even if it was someone whom they had never met before. Exactly the same thing was said by numerous visitors to England, including Erasmus and, in the following century, a Greek from Corcyra, called Nicander Nucius<sup>54</sup> while Manuel Chrysoloras was amazed that women as well as men made the arduous pilgrimage to Rome<sup>55</sup>.

<sup>52</sup> Diodorus Siculus, *The Library of History*, trans. C.H. Oldfather, vol. 3 (London, 1939), bk. V, ch. 21-2, p. 157. Procopius likewise copied from Thucydides when describing a plague in Constantinople: Averil Cameron, *Procopius and the Sixth Century* (London, 1985), pp. 40-3.

<sup>53</sup> Cf. Gregoras, vol. 2, p. 689; A.A. Vasiliev, 'La Guerre de Cent Ans et Jeanne d'Arc dans la tradition byzantine', *Byzantion*, 3 (1926-7), 241-52. Western visitors to Constantinople may have been a source of information. A Burgundian knight who was in the city in 1432 was closely questioned on the subject of Joan of Arc by the Emperor John VIII: Bertrandon de la Broquière, *Le voyage de Outre Mer*, ed. C. Schefer (Paris, 1892), p. 165.

<sup>54</sup> *Correspondence of Erasmus*, trans. R.A.B. Mynors and D.F.S. Thomson, vol. 1 (Toronto and Buffalo, 1974), no. 103, pp. 192-3; *The Second Book of the travels of Nicander Nucius of Corcyra*, ed. and trans. J.A. Cramer, *Camden Society*, 17 (London, 1841), p. 10; C. Barron, C. Coleman and C. Gobbi, 'The London Journal of Alessandro Magno', *The London Journal*, 9 (1983), 136-52, esp. 144; S. Moraitis, 'Sur un passage de Chalcocondyles relatif aux anglais', *Revue des Études Grecques*, 1 (1888), 94-8. The assertion by another sixteenth century writer that there was widespread sexual licence in England, however, is probably based on a misunderstanding of Chalcocondyles's verb 'to kiss': Phrantzes (Pseudo), *Chronica*, 1258-1481, ed. V. Grecu (Bucharest, 1966), bk. III, ch. 3, p. 362.

<sup>55</sup> Manuel Chrysoloras, *Epistola ad Joannem Imperatorem*, PG 156, col. 32. It would seem that Byzantine women lived more secluded lives: some of the young girls captured by the Turks in 1453 had never before been exposed to the sun and had hardly ever seen their own fathers: Ducas, bk. XXXIX, p. 291.



Despite its relapses into vagueness and occasional inaccuracies, therefore, Chalcocondyles's description of France and England bears witness both to a genuine interest in the customs of foreign countries and access to accurate sources of information, in sharp contrast to earlier Byzantine writers. Indeed, like most late Byzantine accounts of countries like England it is extraordinarily positive in tone. Chalcocondyles described London as having 'no equal among the cities of the West in wealth and prosperity'<sup>56</sup> and Constantine Lascaris compared the British Isles to the Isles of the Blessed. Manuel II paid England the highest compliment he could bestow, comparing it with his own empire as a 'second civilised world'<sup>57</sup>.

This positive attitude had its naive aspect. In the case of England, the Byzantines seem to have cherished fond legends of a mythical past<sup>58</sup>. The members of an Imperial embassy which met the English priest, Adam of Usk, in Rome took the opportunity to remind him that Constantine the Great, the founder of their city, had been proclaimed emperor in Britain. This was true enough but they were apparently under the impression that the first inhabitants of the new city had been Britons who had arrived there with Constantine<sup>59</sup>.

Furthermore, the Byzantines appear to have believed that by reminding the English of these past links, they would persuade them to send armies to fight the Turks. In 1402 Manuel II's nephew, John VII, wrote to Henry IV, praising the important role played by the English in

<sup>56</sup> Chalcocondyles, bk. II, pp. 93-4. This is perhaps not so great an exaggeration for an Italian visitor to the city at the end of the century remarked that it 'abounds with every article of luxury as well as with the necessities of life'. *An Italian Relation of the Island of England*, ed. and trans. C.A. Sneyd, *Camden Society*, 37 (London, 1847), p. 42.

<sup>57</sup> J. Iriarte, *Regiae Bibliothecae Matritensis Codices Graeci Mss* (Madrid, 1769), p. 290; Manuel II, *Letters*, no. 38, p. 103.

<sup>58</sup> For surveys of contacts between England and Byzantium in the Middle Ages see: R.S. Lopez, 'Le problème des relations anglo-byzantines du septième au dixième siècle', *Byzantion*, 18 (1948), 139-62; D.M. Nicol, 'Byzantium and England', *Balkan Studies*, 15 (1974), 173-204. The two centuries before the visit of Manuel II seem to have been particularly barren in Anglo-Byzantine contacts. See, however: Matthew Paris, *Historia Anglorum*, ed. F. Madden, RS 44, vol. 2 (London, 1866), p. 194, vol. 3 (London, 1869), p. 64; CCR, (1313-18), p. 76; *Foedera*, vol. 2. pt. I, pp. 50-1 (= III, 441-2).

<sup>59</sup> Adam of Usk, *Chronicon*, ed. and trans. E.M. Thompson (London, 1904), p. 272.

the past and present defence of Constantinople<sup>60</sup>. For the past, it is possible that John had in mind the old Varangian Guard, but those days were long gone and in the fifty years before John wrote only a handful of English knights are recorded as having even visited Constantinople, let alone been active in its defence<sup>61</sup>. A few English volunteers were present in the expeditions mounted by Amadeo of Savoy and Waleran de Waurin for the relief of the city but they were conspicuous by their absence in the Crusade of Nicopolis<sup>62</sup>. Either John was deceiving himself, or he was hoping to flatter the English king. Whichever it was, he made the error, only too common among the Byzantines of the fifteenth century, of hopelessly over-estimating the power of nations like England to help them.

Yet their mistake is perfectly understandable. Byzantines who travelled to Western Europe could not fail to have been struck by the contrast between the thriving cities there and the crumbling Byzantine capital. One Byzantine scholar commented sadly that Constantinople in his day was a 'city of ruins' and another that it was already laid waste<sup>63</sup>. Two Spanish travellers said much the same. Pero Tafur remarked that the city's inhabitants appeared sad, poorly dressed and impoverished and Clavijo was struck by the contrast between the former greatness of Constantinople and its present decay:

Although the circuit of the walls ... is very great and the area spacious, the city is not throughout very densely populated. There are within its compass many hills and

<sup>60</sup> *Royal and Historical Letters during the Reign of Henry IV*, ed. F.C. Hingeston-Randolph, RS 18, vol. 1 (London, 1860), no. XLII, pp. 101-3; Barker, *Manuel II*, appendix XVII, pp. 500-3, translation pp. 213-14.

<sup>61</sup> S. Düll, A. Luttrell and M. Keen, 'Faithful unto death: Tomb slab of Sir William Neville and Sir John Clanvowe, Constantinople 1391', *Antiquaries Journal*, 71 (1991), 174-90. On the Varangians see: A.A. Vasiliev, 'The opening stages of the Anglo-Saxon immigration into Byzantium in the eleventh century', *Annales de l'Institut Kondakov*, 9 (1937), 39-70; K.N. Ciggaar, 'L'émigration anglaise à Byzance après 1066', *REB*, 32 (1974), 301-42.

<sup>62</sup> Waurin, *Receuil*, vol. 5, p. 39; F. Bollati de Saint-Pierre, *Illustrazioni della spedizione in oriente di Amedeo VI*, *Biblioteca Storica Italiana*, 5 (Turin, 1900), pp. 39, 71, 124, 149, 150, 171; C.L. Tipton, 'The English at Nicopolis', *Speculum*, 37 (1962), 528-40. On English participation in crusades during the fourteenth century see: A. Luttrell, 'English Levantine crusaders, 1363-7', *Renaissance Studies*, 2 (1988), 143-53.

<sup>63</sup> Cydones, *Apologia*, p. 374; George Scholarios, *Oeuvres complètes*, vol. 1 (Paris, 1928), p. 287.



valleys where corn fields and orchards are found and among the orchard lands, there are hamlets and suburbs which are included in the city limits ... Everywhere throughout the city, there are many great palaces, churches and monasteries but most of them are now in ruin. It is plain, however, that in former times, when Constantinople was in its pristine state, it was one of the noblest capitals in the world<sup>64</sup>.

Thriving cities like London and Paris must have seemed very impressive by comparison and hence the ecstatic comments of Chalcocondyles and Manuel II.

This favourable view of Western Europe explains why so many Byzantines viewed it as a possible place of refuge. According to Cydones, as early as 1354, when Gallipoli fell to the Turks and Constantinople was threatened for the first time, many contemplated flight 'to the ocean beyond the pillars of Hercules'<sup>65</sup>. Indeed, the further West seemed in some ways preferable to Italy because it was more removed from the troubles which beset Constantinople. Michael Apostolis and Constantine Lascaris yearned to go to England or Germany, John Argyropoulos toyed with the idea of Hungary and Cydones considered making for Spain<sup>66</sup>.

However, there remains the problem of just how many people in Byzantium were influenced by this new positive and well-informed view of the West. It is safe to say that they must have been more numerous than they had been in the previous century, as reconciliation with the West had now become a key element of imperial policy. After 1439 all those who wished to remain on good terms with the emperor would have been expected to assent to the Union of Florence. Thus it was no longer a case of a few isolated scholars. In a report written between 1448 and 1451, Cardinal Isidore, the Papal legate in Constantinople assured the Pope, with some exaggeration, that the supporters of the Union were:

<sup>64</sup> Clavijo, *Embassy*, pp. 87-8; Vasiliev, 'Pero Tafur', 113.

<sup>65</sup> Demetrius Cydones, *Oratio de non reddenda Callipoli*, PG 154, col. 1013; A.E. Vacalopoulos, *Origins of the Greek Nation* (New Brunswick, 1970), pp. 235-7.

<sup>66</sup> Cydones, *Correspondance*, no. 49, pp. 125-9; *Lettres inédites de Michel Apostolis*, ed. H. Noiret (Paris, 1889), no. 92, p. 113; Iriarte, *Regiae Bibliothecae*, p. 290; Cammelli, *I dotti bizantini. II: Giovanni Argiropulo*, pp. 125ff.

... the highest placed and, as it were, the foundation, namely the emperor and the patriarch, to say nothing of the largest part of the nobles and people.<sup>67</sup>

These included George Sphrantzes, Theodore Carystinos, John VIII's ambassador to Burgundy, Constantine Cantacuzenus Palaeologus whom the Pope made a count palatine of the Lateran in recognition of his services to the Union in 1446, and Franculios Servopoulos and John Argyropoulos, the envoys of the despots of the Morea in 1456<sup>68</sup>.

It seems probable that those Byzantines who made their way to the West as refugees or as permanent settlers would generally, though not always, have been drawn from this pro-western group. They would have known something about the world outside Constantinople and had perhaps even made friends and contacts there which ultimately would have benefited not only themselves but also their families.

Franculios Servopoulos, for example, had held the position of official notary of the Venetian Baillie in Constantinople and had perfected his knowledge of Latin<sup>69</sup>. John Argyropoulos had spent several years in Italy before 1453, probably teaching at the University of Padua<sup>70</sup>. Demetrius Cydones and a nobleman named Andronicus Commusos had already obtained Venetian citizenship<sup>71</sup>.

<sup>67</sup> BAV Vat. Gr. 1858, ff. 45v, 49v; text in G. Mercati, *Scritti d'Isidoro, il cardinale ruteno*, *Studi e Testi*, 46 (Rome, 1926), p. 37, n. 5; trans. Gill, *Council of Florence*, pp. 389-90.

<sup>68</sup> ASVat Reg. Vat. 360, ff. 341v-342v; Iorga, *Notes et extraits*, vol. 2, p. 418; *Epistolae Pontificiae ad Concilium Florentinum Spectantes*, ed. G. Hofmann, *Concilium Florentinum: Documenta et Scriptores*, vol. 3 (Rome, 1946), no. 285, p. 109; Sphrantzes, bk. XXXVI, ch. 5-6, pp. 100-2; Leonard of Chios, cols. 925, 934; Ducas, ch. XXXI, p. 214. A Papal letter of 1456 describes Servopoulos as *catholicus*: Cappelli, 'Giovanni ed Isaaco Argiropulo', 169.

<sup>69</sup> MM, vol. 2, p. 215; Ubertino Pusculo, *Constantinopoleos Libri IV*, ed. A. Ellissen, *Analekten der Mittel und Neugriechischen Literatur*, vol. 3 (Leipzig, 1857), bk. II, p. 37, line 543. He also the offices of Imperial chancellor and *catholicos crites*: Cerone, 'La politica orientale', ASPN, 27 (1902), 823; P. Lemerle, 'Documents et problèmes nouveaux concernant les juges généraux', *Δελτίον της Χριστιανικής Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας*, 4th series, 4 (1965), 43.

<sup>70</sup> *Acta Graduum Academicorum Gymnasii Patavini*, ed. C. Zonta and G. Brotto, vol. 1, pt. 2 (Padua, 1970), no. 1820, p. 187; Vespasiano, p. 243; Setton, 'Byzantine background', 70.

<sup>71</sup> ASV Privilegi reg. 1, f. 94; reg. 2, f. 35v; Senato, Terra reg. 4, f. 40v (orig. 39v); Iorga, *Notes et extraits*, vol. 1 = ROL, 8 (1900-1), 76; R. Loenertz, 'Démétrius Cydones, citôyen de Venise', *Échos d'Orient*, 37 (1938), 125-6; Geanakoplos, *Greek*



As the end approached they could use these contacts to secure the position of themselves and their families. One individual placed funds in the Bank of St. George in Genoa for the sustenance of his family in case Constantinople should fall and they be compelled to flee to Italy. The *Megadux*, Lucas Notaras, sent his daughter Anna to live in Italy before the final siege began and she was joined there after 1453 by her brother Isaac<sup>72</sup>. Both John Argyropoulos and Franculios Servopoulos, having carried their missions on behalf of the despots, were able to remain in Italy. Argyropoulos accepted the chair of Greek at Florence in October 1456 and remained in Italy until his death in 1487<sup>73</sup>. Servopoulos spent some time in Rome, where he may have been attached to the household of Cardinal Isidore, before going to Venice where, by the 1470s, he was in the service of Anna Notaras<sup>74</sup>. Others who had served as ambassadors later returned to the West. John Tzambalac, for example, who visited Florence on behalf of Demetrius Palaeologus in 1455, reappeared in Italy as a refugee in 1461<sup>75</sup>.

In the cases of most of the refugees discussed so far there is not as much information available as there is for Argyropoulos or Servopoulos. It is fair to conclude, however, that refugees like Nicolas Tarchaniotes or migrants like the Effomatos brothers would have had a considerable knowledge of France and England which influenced their decisions to go there, even if such information as they had might have led them to over-estimate what was to be gained.

*Scholars*, pp. 27-8. Venetian citizenship had the added advantage of exempting the beneficiary from Byzantine taxes: J. Chrysostomides, 'Venetian commercial privileges under the Palaeologi', *Studi Veneziani*, 12 (1970), 267-356, esp. 276-89.

<sup>72</sup> ASVat Reg. Vat. 504, ff. 227-227v; Crusius, *Turcograecia*, p. 13; *Historia Politica Constantinopoleos*, pp. 23-4. In view of this, it is rather difficult to believe Ducas who portrays Notaras as a fanatical opponent of the Union of Florence and of the West in general: Ducas, bk. XXXVIII, p. 264; Gill, *Council of Florence*, p. 375.

<sup>73</sup> *Statuti della Università e Studio fiorentino*, p. 467; Garin, 'A proposito della biografia', 104-7.

<sup>74</sup> ASR MC 834, f. 43v (orig. 42v); ASVat Introitus et Exitus 441, f. 98 (orig. 131); Reg. Vat. 468, ff. 318, 344; P. Pierling, *La Russie et le Saint Siège*, vol. 1 (Paris, 1896), p. 96; Cecchini, 'Anna Notara', 27-41; *Cent dix lettres grecques*, p. 341.

<sup>75</sup> ASVat Reg. Vat. 504, f. 272v; Reg. Vat. 506, ff. 40-40v; LPP, vol. 4, p. 246; Iorga, *Notes et extraits*, vol. 4, no. CXXIII, p. 191; G.I. Theocharidis, 'ΟΙ Τζαμπλάκωνες', *Μακεδονικά*, 5 (1961-3), 125-83, esp. 179.

## 2. The Venetian connection

Better information on the West may well have prompted many Byzantines to go there, but this in itself would hardly have been enough to guarantee security, either for those seeking alms or those who wished to settle. Moreover, it is unlikely to have affected the decision of those Greeks who emigrated from the Venetian colonies since they had been living under western rule for years anyway. Of much more practical use was the opportunities offered by Venice in her position as a colonial power in the Greek world. The Republic's position benefitted the exiles in two ways: it made possible the existence of a sizeable Greek centre in the West and its extensive commercial network enabled Greeks to establish themselves in cities outside Italy.

The position of the Greek community in Venice was recognised as early as 1468 in the famous words of Cardinal Bessarion to the Doge:

As all people of almost the entire world gather in your city, so do the Greeks. Arriving by sea from their homelands, they debark at Venice, being forced by necessity to come to your city and live among you, and there they seem to enter another Byzantium ...<sup>76</sup>

The community's importance lay not only in the number of Greeks who lived there but also in the fact that, as a result, Venice was to become a primary centre for the preservation and dissemination of Byzantine culture. Bessarion, for one, was convinced that the 'quasi alterum Byzantium', was the place where, if anywhere, Greek culture would be preserved and this conviction underlay his gift of his entire library of nearly eight hundred books to the church of St. Mark<sup>77</sup>.

The availability of Greek books and teachers ensured that Venice's university at nearby Padua attracted students from far afield who wished to learn Greek, especially after the arrival there of Demetrius

<sup>76</sup> Text in L. Mohler, *Kardinal Bessarion als Theologe, Humanist und Staatsmann*, vol. 3 (Paderborn, 1942), pp. 541-3, esp. 542, trans. Geanakoplos, *Greek Scholars*, pp. 35-7.

<sup>77</sup> L. Labowsky, 'Il cardinale Bessarione e gli inizi della Biblioteca Marciana', *Venezia e l'Oriente fra tardo medio evo e Rinascimento*, ed. A. Pertusi (Venice, 1966), pp. 159-82; Setton, 'Byzantine background', 74. He also had high hopes that Venice would lead a crusade to retake Constantinople: Iorga, *Notes et Extraits*, vol. 2, p. 518. On Bessarion's efforts to preserve Hellenic literature, see below p. 126ff.



Chalcocondyles in 1463<sup>78</sup> and the same factors probably prompted Aldus Manutius to establish his Greek printing press in Venice in 1494<sup>79</sup>.

It was in Venice, too, that something of Byzantium's spiritual tradition was perpetuated, largely thanks to the efforts of Anna Notaras and her considerable fortune. Not only had she taken care to preserve several icons by bringing them with her from Constantinople<sup>80</sup>, but she also took steps to ensure that the Orthodox liturgy was not forgotten. In 1475 both she and Eudocia Cantacuzena, wife of Matthew Spandonino, obtained permission from the Council of Ten to hear mass celebrated according to the Greek Uniate rite in the privacy of their own houses<sup>81</sup>. It would seem, however, that they used this privilege to have the Orthodox liturgy celebrated in secret, Anna Notaras on one occasion covertly bringing in an exiled Greek priest, Theodore Magoula, to officiate.

The authorities apparently got wind of what was going on and at least once withdrew the privilege, for although in their Greek colonies the Venetian authorities generally allowed Orthodox priests to minister to the local population unmolested, there was a limit to what they would tolerate in their own city<sup>82</sup>. Even so, Notaras was undaunted. In May 1487 she

<sup>78</sup> D.J. Geanakoplos, 'The discourse of Demetrius Chalcondyles on the inauguration of Greek studies at the University of Padua', *Studies in the Renaissance*, 21 (1974), 118-44; G. Fabris, 'Professori e scolari greci all'università di Padova', *Archivio Veneto*, 30 (1942), 121-65.

<sup>79</sup> Geanakoplos, *Greek Scholars*, pp. 116-19; Setton, 'Byzantine background', 74. Greek scribes were also active in copying manuscripts in Venice: VG, p. 228.

<sup>80</sup> The Minuti di Inventori in the Archivio della chiesa di San Giorgio dei Greci list some icons in the church's collection as having been brought from Constantinople by 'La Dichesa': M. Chatzidakis, *Icones de Saint-Georges des Grecs et de la collection de l'Institut* (Venice, 1962), plate I, pp. 4-6, plate 1, pp. 7-8, plate 4, pp. 11-12. Notaras's action here is reminiscent of the way that the Empress Theodora had concealed sacred images in her room, out of the reach of her iconoclast husband Theophilus (829-42): Theophanes Continuatus, *Chronographia*, ed. I. Bekker, CSHB (Bonn, 1838), pp. 91-2.

<sup>81</sup> ASV Consiglio dei Dieci, Misti reg. 18, f. 168v (orig. 113v); Misti reg. 20, f. 65 (orig. 27); Sathas, *Documents*, vol. 9, pp. XXXVIII-IX.

<sup>82</sup> ASV Consiglio dei Dieci, Misti reg. 19, f. 101 (orig. 61); reg. 26, ff. 152, 157v; Moschonas, 'Greci', no. X, pp. 134-5; F. Mavroendi-Plumidis, 'Nēes eldēseis γὰ τὴν Ἑλληνικὴ παροικία τῆς Βενετίας (1493-9)', *Th*, 15 (1978), 66-78. On the religious position of Greeks under Venetian rule, see P. Pisani, 'Les chrétiens de rite oriental à Venise et dans les possessions vénitiennes', *Revue d'Histoire et de Littérature Religieuses*, 1 (1896), 201-24; Geanakoplos, *Greek Scholars*, pp. 43-6; Ball, *Greek Community*, pp. 21-86. Venetian rule was by no means as oppressive as is

was to be found petitioning for her privilege to be restored, artlessly complaining that she could not understand the Latin mass<sup>83</sup>. Surprisingly, she got her way and was permitted to hear mass according to the Greek rite with her household, provided they numbered no more than ten persons<sup>84</sup>. It seems fair to assume that a good many of the Greeks in Venice were, like Notaras, secretly Orthodox.

Greeks living in Venice, therefore, enjoyed considerable advantages, were able to maintain contact with their cultural heritage and had the support of many of their own compatriots<sup>85</sup>. Those established elsewhere in Italy often had similar advantages, especially if they received the patronage of one of the wealthy and influential exiles, like the cardinals, Bessarion and Isidore.

Those living outside Italy were in a very different position, for few if any of their fellow countrymen held positions of authority there. It is true that Thomas Frank as physician to the French king Charles VII between 1451 and 1456, wielded some influence so that Filelfo often directed needy refugees to him<sup>86</sup>. Under Charles's successor, Louis XI, another Greek, George Palaeologus Dishypatos achieved prominence in France and he was approached by Andronicus Callistus with a request to

sometimes believed, Greeks often having redress against harsh governors in the courts: C. Hodgetts, 'Venetian officials and Greek peasantry in the fourteenth century', *Καθηγήτρια - Essays Presented to Joan Hussey for her 80th Birthday*, ed. J. Chrysostomides (Camberley, 1988), pp. 481-99.

<sup>83</sup> ASV Consiglio dei Dieci, Misti reg. 23, f. 139 (orig. 109); Sathas, *Documents*, vol. 9, pp. XXXIX-XL: 'Cum sit che za anni trenta vel circa sia stata et habitata in questa alma città et continue, quando a mi ha piacesto per devotione mia, et per non intender io la lingua Latina mi ho facto celebrar messa in casa mia alla Greca, che per altramente non intendo'.

<sup>84</sup> She was wealthy enough to be able to maintain several fellow-exiles in her household, including Franculios Servopoulos and John Plousiadenos: Cecchini, 'Anna Notara', pp. 27-8, 34-41; M.I. Manousakas, 'Recherches sur la vie de Jean Plousiadenos', *REB*, 17 (1959), 28-51.

<sup>85</sup> The Greek scuola in Venice looked after its own: J.G. Ball, 'Poverty, charity and the Greek community', *Studi Veneziani*, ns 6 (1982), 129-60.

<sup>86</sup> *Cent dix lettres grecques*, p. 73; Filelfo, *Epistolae* (1506), bk. XII, 9 kalends August 1455. Filelfo provided John Argyropoulos with a letter addressed to Thomas Frank when he was in the West as an ambassador in 1456 and the Greek physician seems also to have played some part in the reception of the Byzantine envoy, Nicolas Agallon in France in 1455: Idem, bk. XIII, 15 kalends June 1456; Valois, 'Fragment', 292. On Agallon's mission see above p. 48. On Thomas Frank's influence at the French court, see below p. 167.



help the imprisoned George Hermonymos<sup>87</sup>. In general, however, Greeks did not have well-established members of their own community to help them outside Italy and for this reason they would have needed the protection of the established communities composed of Venetians and other Italians in this potentially hostile environment.

This is suggested by the evidence of the Alien Subsidy lists for London, which imply that there was a particular part of the city where Greeks tended to live, just as they congregated in the sestiere of Castello in Venice. This area was the ward of Broadstreet: Thomas Frank and two individuals called 'Michael Greke' were recorded as living there in the 1440s while after 1451, the Effomatos brothers who had previously been included in the Cripplegate returns, were in Broadstreet too<sup>88</sup>.

The concentration of Greeks in Broadstreet ward implies that they had close links with the Italians for whom the area seems also to have been a centre. A Venetian notarial deed of 1450 describes the house of Ludovico di Strozzi as being situated in 'vico de Bradstrete' and the church of the Austin Friars there seems to have been used by Italians as a place of worship. The Convent attached to it was home to several Italian priests and, since it contained a room known as 'Lumbardeshall', it may have acted as the meeting place for their fellow-countrymen. Its church was often chosen by Italian merchants in their wills as their preferred place of burial<sup>89</sup>.

The Greeks in London were associated with the Italians in other ways too. The physicians, Demetrius de Cerno and Thomas Frank both attended on them in illness, Demetrius on the Milanese countess of Kent, Lucia Visconti and Thomas on Francesco Doria of Genoa<sup>90</sup>. They also shared commercial ventures, as is suggested by an anonymous English chronicler who specifically states that Edward IV exchanged merchandise

<sup>87</sup> Andronicus Callistus, *Epistola ad Georgium Palaeologum*, PG 161, cols. 1017-20. On George Palaeologus Dishypatos see below p. 175ff. On Hermonymos's imprisonment see below p. 143ff.

<sup>88</sup> PRO E179/144/64, f. 8; E179/144/52, f. 9.

<sup>89</sup> ASV Cancelleria Inferiore, Notai 195, quaderno 6, no. 8; GL ms 9171/4, ff. 168v, 210; ms 9171/5, f. 101v; Thrupp, 'Aliens', pp. 262-3; W. Jenkinson, *London Churches before the Great Fire* (London, 1917), p. 131; H.L. Bradley, *The Italian Community in London, c.1350-c.1450*, University of London Ph.D. thesis (1992).

<sup>90</sup> GL ms 9171/4, f. 168v; *The Register of Henry Chichele, Archbishop of Canterbury, 1414-43*, ed. E.F. Jacob, vol. 2, *Canterbury and York Society*, 42 (Oxford, 1937), p. 281; Talbot and Hammond, pp. 34-5. Demetrius de Cerno is thought to be the Demetrius bequeathed five marks in the countess's will, which makes it likely that he attended on her last illness. See below p. 60, 164.

with both Italians and Greeks. This is confirmed by the customs accounts of the port of London which reveal that Andronicus Effomatos imported goods in a Genoese vessel, the *Santa Consolata*, commanded by Bartolomeo Doria<sup>91</sup>.

In the case of Thomas Frank, however, his closest association was with the Venetians. He had commercial dealings with Bernardo Barbo of Venice and in 1447 stood as executor for Giovanni 'Belevider alias Negropounte'<sup>92</sup>. This Giovanni was very probably the 'John Negreaunt' or 'Nigropounty' who was resident in Broadstreet ward at the same time as Thomas Frank in 1441 and 1443<sup>93</sup>. Both this and Thomas Frank's appointment as his executor suggest that the Greek doctor might also have had business interests in common with Belevider.

It is not difficult to see why there should be close links between Greeks and Venetians, given the Republic's position as colonial power in a large part of the Greek world. Giovanni's nickname implies that he was himself from Greece, from the island of Negroponte, so that he may have been born there either of Italian settler stock or of mixed parentage. He and Thomas Frank would, therefore, have had a great deal in common since Thomas was from another Venetian possession, the town of Corone<sup>94</sup>. Many others among the Venetians and Greeks in London might have had links with these colonies, like Nicolò and Giorgio 'de Modon' who must have come from Methone<sup>95</sup>.

Thus the Venetians literally provided the link between the world from which many of these emigres came and the West. They had, on the one hand, built up a strong presence in towns like London and

<sup>91</sup> PRO E122/73/25, f. 16v; *The Crowland Chronicle Continuations*, ed. N. Pronay and J. Cox (London, 1986), p. 139. On involvement of Greeks in trade, see below p. 87ff.

<sup>92</sup> GL ms 9171/4, f. 210; *Calendar of Plea and Memoranda Rolls, (1413-39)*, p. 290. Belevider was probably a Venetian since all his executors were, apart from Thomas Frank.

<sup>93</sup> PRO E179/144/42, f. 20; E179/144/52, f. 9.

<sup>94</sup> He was addressed in a letter of 1454 as 'Thomas Coroneus' by Francesco Filelfo: *Cent dix lettres grecques*, pp. 72ff.

<sup>95</sup> ASV Cancelleria Inferiore, Notai 196, quaderno 2, no. 8; PRO E179/144/45. In the same way, Slavs are found in Southampton where there was another important Venetian community. In all probability they were associated with the Venetian colonies on the Adriatic coast: G.W. Minns, 'The Slavonian tombstone at North Stoneham', *Papers and Proceedings of the Hampshire Field Club*, 2 (1894), 357-64; A.A. Ruddock, *Italian Merchants and Shipping in Southampton, 1270-1600* (Southampton, 1951), pp. 132-3.



Southampton and on the other secured domination of the trade between Western Europe and the Mediterranean. Their ships exported English products like tin and cloth to Constantinople and elsewhere and imported into London the products of the Greek world, like Cretan and Cypriot wine<sup>96</sup>. They also dominated the passenger traffic so that pilgrims to the Holy Land would usually go overland to Venice and take ship from there<sup>97</sup>.

There can be little doubt, therefore, that without the help of Venice and other Italian maritime republics, the Greeks would have had great difficulty reaching and establishing themselves in distant cities like London. Vital as this link was, however, the attitude of the indigenous population was also important, whether among the ruling classes or the mass of the people.

### 3. Changing attitudes in the West: monarchs and intellectuals

The single most important factor in securing a favourable reception for Byzantine refugees was the attitudes of the ruling classes in the West which had undergone some revision in the later fourteenth century. There were two aspects to this new favourable attitude. One was a reaction to the successes of the Ottoman Turks, a feeling of solidarity with fellow Christians who had suffered at the hands of the infidel. The other was a growing admiration for the Hellenic culture which had been preserved in Byzantium and was now being avidly studied in the West.

Among European rulers it was the former attitude that was the most prevalent, for many of them professed themselves eager to join a new crusade to drive back the Turks, give succour to the Eastern Christians and liberate the Holy Places. Not surprisingly, those in Italy, whose lands were directly threatened by Ottoman expansion were at the

<sup>96</sup> E.B. Fryde, 'Anglo-Italian commerce in the fifteenth century: Some evidence about profits and the balance of trade', *Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire*, 50 (1972), 345-55, esp. 352-4; A.D. Francis, *The Wine Trade* (London, 1972), p. 15. Sugar from Cyprus and wine from Crete were to be found in the larder of Durham abbey in about 1360: *Extracts from the Account Rolls of the Abbey of Durham*, vol. 2, *Surtees Society*, 100 (London, 1899), p. 563.

<sup>97</sup> This was the route taken by Margery Kempe in 1413: *The Book of Margery Kempe*, ed. S.B. Meech and H.E. Allen, *Early English Text Society*, 212 (London, 1940), p. 284. Two attempts by the Bristol merchant Robert Sturmy to break into this monopoly were unsuccessful, the first being foiled by a storm, the second by a Genoese ambush: E.M. Carus-Wilson, *The Medieval Merchant Venturers* (London, 1954), pp. 64-73.

forefront of these plans. From the later fourteenth century, the Popes, alarmed at the growing threat, were actively encouraging the sovereigns of Western European nations to participate in a crusade. Gregory XI (1370-8) had been the first propose an expedition against the Turks specifically to relieve the pressure on Constantinople<sup>98</sup> and following the fall of Constantinople in 1453, Nicolas V (1447-55) renewed the call, in a bull addressed to all western rulers calling for a crusade to recapture the city<sup>99</sup>. His successors took more direct measures. Calixtus III (1455-8) embarked on the construction of a fleet in the Tiber, converting Papal treasures into coin to pay for it<sup>100</sup> and Pius II (1458-64) himself took the cross as a crusader.

Among secular Italian rulers, the Aragonese king, Alfonso V (1416-58), who had conquered Sicily and Southern Italy in 1442, took the most interest in co-operating with these crusading plans in alliance with the papacy<sup>101</sup>. No large scale expedition was ever launched but the plans themselves provided a favourable climate in Italian courts.

It was only natural that those rulers who were involved with plans for the crusade should be sympathetic to and assist those dispossessed by the Turkish conquest. Calixtus III wrote to Leonard of Chios, urging him to do all he could to encourage the ransoming of Christian captives and threatening excommunication to anyone who sold them as slaves<sup>102</sup>. Both he and Pius II gave gifts of money to individuals to relieve their

<sup>98</sup> PRO SC7/17/7; *Foedera*, vol. 3, pt. III, p. 40 (= VIII, 96-7); P.N.R. Zutshi, *Original Papal Letters in England, 1305-1415*, *Index Actorum Romanorum Pontificum*, 5 (Vatican City, 1990), no. 340, pp. 173-4; A. Luttrell, 'Gregory XI and the Turks: 1370-8', *OCP*, 46 (1980), 391-417.

<sup>99</sup> C. Baronius, O. Raynaldus and J. Laderchus, *Annales Ecclesiastici*, vol. 28 (Bar-le-Duc and Paris, 1874), pp. 599-601; P. Georgisch, *Regesta Chronologico-Diplomatica*, vol. 1 (Frankfurt and Leipzig, 1740), col. 1162; Setton, *Papacy and Levant*, vol. 2, pp. 139, 150.

<sup>100</sup> C. Marinesco, 'Le Pape Calixte III (1455-58), Alfonse V d'Aragon et l'offensive contre les Turqs', *Bulletin de la Section Historique de l'Académie Roumaine*, 19 (1935), 77-97; P. Paschini, 'La flotta di Callisto III (1455-58)', *Archivio della Società Romana di Storia Patria*, 53-5 (1930-2), 177-254; Setton, *Papacy and Levant*, vol. 2, pp. 164ff, 185-8.

<sup>101</sup> A. Ryder, 'The Eastern policy of Alfonso the Magnanimous', *Atti della Accademia Pontaniana*, 28 (1979), 7-25.

<sup>102</sup> ASVat Reg. Vat. 443, ff. 140-141; *Bullarium Diplomatum et Privilegiorum Sanctorum Romanorum Pontificum*, vol. 5, ed. F. Gaude (Turin, 1860), pp. 130-2.



poverty or as a contribution to ransoms<sup>103</sup>. Many others were generously provided for at the court of Alfonso V. In August 1454, for instance, he provided Demetrius 'Caleba' or 'Calapa', a former chamberlain of the Byzantine emperor, with a new suit of clothes<sup>104</sup>. Even the Venetian government, whose attitude to the crusade was sometimes ambivalent in practice, demonstrated its commitment to the ideal by extending its protection to some of the refugees<sup>105</sup>.

However, it was not only Italian rulers who were interested in the crusade and the enthusiasm of Pius II and Alfonso V was matched by that of the dukes of Burgundy, Philip the Good (1419-67) and Charles the Bold (1467-77). Before 1453 Philip had despatched a fleet to the Bosphorus and the Black Sea in response to an appeal for help sent by the Byzantine emperor<sup>106</sup> and he felt the loss of Constantinople as a blow to his personal prestige. He became deeply involved in the plans to recover the city even drew up with his counsellors a detailed plan of how the expedition to the East was to be organised<sup>107</sup>. Charles the Bold entertained grand visions of an alliance with Persia against the Ottomans<sup>108</sup>.

<sup>103</sup> ASR MC 832, f. 4v; ASR MC 833, f. 55; ASVat Introitus et Exitus 453, f. 189; Iorga, *Notes et extraits*, vol. 4, no. CXXXIII, p. 191.

<sup>104</sup> '... a messer Dimitrio Caleba, Greco, camerlengo di lo Imperadore di Costantinopoli, graciosament per sou vestir, zoe: perpino fino nigro canne tri, florenza morelli canne dui palmi IIII, cordellato nigro de mayorca palmi IIII per calci': Cerone, 'La politica orientale', *ASPN*, 27 (1902), 825, n. 1. See also: Iorga, *Notes et extraits*, vol. 2, pp. 47-51; *Monumenta Historica Slavorum Meridionalium Vicinorumque Populorum*, ed. V. Macuscev, vol. 2 (Belgrade, 1882), p. 289.

<sup>105</sup> Perhaps more often out of recognition of services rendered in the past than from pure altruism: ASV Consiglio dei Dieci, Misti reg. 17, f. 95 (orig. 53), Senato, Mar reg. 7, f. 102; Thiriet, *Délibérations*, vol. 2, no. 1488, p. 198, no. 1579, p. 224.

<sup>106</sup> Waurin, *Receuil*, vol. 5, pp. 19-119; R. Vaughan, *Philip the Good* (London, 1970), pp. 271-4. On Philip's crusading policy in general see: A. Grunzweig, 'Philippe le Bon et Constantinople', *Byzantion*, 24 (1954), 47-61; Y. Lacaze, 'Politique "Méditerranéenne" et projets de croisade chez Philippe le Bon: de la chute de Byzance à la victoire chrétienne de Belgrade (mai 1453-juillet 1456)', *Annales de Bourgogne*, 41 (1969), 5-42, 81-132.

<sup>107</sup> Olivier de la Marche, *Mémoires*, bk. 1, ch. 28, vol. 1, p. 409; *The Memoirs of Philippe de Comynes*, ed. S. Kinser, trans. I. Cazeaux, vol. 1 (Columbia, South Carolina, 1973), p. 431; J. Finot, *Projet d'expédition contre les Turqs, préparé par les conseillers du Duc de Bourgogne, Philippe le Bon* (Lille, 1890), pp. 35-45; Vaughan, *Philip the Good*, pp. 360-5.

<sup>108</sup> R.J. Walsh, 'Charles the Bold and the crusade: politics and propaganda', *Journal of Medieval History*, 3 (1977), 53-86, esp. 70-1, 79-81.

As in the case of Alfonso V and the Popes, all these preparations ultimately came to nothing. Nevertheless, the crusading interests of the dukes ensured that the Burgundian court extended a welcome to Byzantine refugees after 1453. Philip gave generous help to those seeking to raise ransoms. During 1454 he gave seven livres to Manuel Palaeologus at Lille and twenty seven livres to eight unnamed Greeks at Nozeroy. In 1462 Neophytos, a Byzantine abbot and two other priests all received similar gifts<sup>109</sup>.

Charity was not, of course, the only motive, for these refugees could also have been of assistance in preparing for the war against the Turks. Isaac Palaeologus who joined Duke Philip at St. Omer in 1461, brought 'aucunes nouvelles ... touchant l'estat des Chrestians à l'encontre des infidèles et mecreans de la sainte foy chrestienne'<sup>110</sup>. Perhaps this is why Isaac was received with particular honour. Both he and his son, Alexius, were permitted to accompany the duke to Paris on his way to the coronation of Louis XI at Rheims in August 1461<sup>111</sup>. Michael, Anthony and Constantine 'de Trapezonde' may have resided at the Burgundian court for the same reason<sup>112</sup>.

The kings of France and England were rather less conspicuous in their zeal for making war against the infidel. However, this was due rather to other commitments than to any hostility to the idea itself. Indeed, before their English foe renewed the Hundred Years War in 1413 the French had played an active part in the defence of Constantinople. The army of the Crusade of Nicopolis in 1396 had been composed largely of French knights and in 1399 Charles VI had sent Marshall Boucicaut to the besieged Byzantine capital with a picked force of twelve hundred men<sup>113</sup>. Following the catastrophe at Agincourt, however, the French had harboured all their resources for the struggle against the English and

<sup>109</sup> ADN B2017, f. 267; B2020, ff. 355-355v; B2045, ff. 263, 274v.

<sup>110</sup> ASVat Reg. Vat. 503, ff. 239-240; ADN B2040, f. 241v; *IADNB*, vol. 4, p. 211.

<sup>111</sup> ADN B2040, f. 249v; *IADNB*, vol. 4, p. 211; Vaughan, *Philip the Good*, p. 367.

<sup>112</sup> ADN B2083, no. 66025; B3333, f. 87; *IADNB*, vol. 1, pt. 2, p. 78, vol. 4, p. 243. They may not have been Greeks, however. Michael of Trebizond was probably the Italian Michael Alighieri who had come to the court of Burgundy as the ambassador of the Emperor David of Trebizond in 1461. Constantine and Anthony may, therefore, have been his sons. On Michael's embassy see: Bryer, 'Ludovico da Bologna', 178-98.

<sup>113</sup> *Livre des faits*, vol. 2, pp. 247-9; Ostrogorsky, *History*, pp. 551-2, 555; Setton, *Papacy and Levant*, vol. 1, pp. 345-7.



Charles VII (1429-61) and Louis XI (1461-83) refused to allow themselves or their subjects to be drawn into any crusading enterprise.

The English kings were likewise distracted both by the French war and by the civil strife which raged in their own realm after 1455. Henry VI (1422-61) excused himself from attending the crusading congresses called by the Western emperor and the Pope, much to the disgust of Pius II<sup>114</sup>.

Even so, several English rulers were attracted by the idea of a 'righteous' war. Richard II promised to send an expedition to Constantinople at around the time that Marshall Boucicaut was despatched from France<sup>115</sup>, though his deposition in 1400 put an end to any such plan. Henry V (1413-22) nurtured hopes of being able to lead an army to the East once he had the French crown in his grasp. He even took some preliminary steps by sending Gilbert de Lannoy to Egypt and Syria to survey the ground and by despatching some cannon to Constantinople to contribute to the city's defence<sup>116</sup>. Edward IV (1461-83) took a personal interest in the siege of Rhodes in 1480, equipping and despatching a ship, the *Margaret Howard*, to assist in the island's defence<sup>117</sup>. Both his successors, Richard III (1483-5) and Henry VII (1485-1509) expressed a desire to go on crusade as did James IV of Scotland (1488-1513)<sup>118</sup>.

<sup>114</sup> PRO E28/85/42; *Foedera*, vol. 5, pt. II, pp. 58-9 (= XI, 355-6); Iorga, *Notes et extraits*, vol. 4, pp. 101-2, 111-13; Pius, *Commentaries*, p. 269. It would seem, however, that it had originally been planned to send rather fuller representation to the Congress of Mantua: PPC, vol. 6, pp. 298-9; W.E. Lunt, *Financial Relations of the Papacy with England, 1327-1534* (Cambridge, Mass., 1962), pp. 142-3; C. Head, 'Pius II and the Wars of the Roses', *Archivum Historiae Pontificiae*, 8 (1970), 139-78, esp. 144-9.

<sup>115</sup> *Official Correspondence of Thomas Bekynnton*, vol. 1, no. CCIII, pp. 285-7.

<sup>116</sup> PRO E404/30/194; J. Webb, 'A survey of Egypt and Syria undertaken in the year 1422 by Sir Gilbert de Lannoy', *Archaeologia*, 21 (1827), 281-444; *The First Life of King Henry V Written in English in 1513*, ed. C.L. Kingsford (Oxford, 1911), p. 182.

<sup>117</sup> Hereford and Worcester Record Office, 716.093 (BA 2648/7i), ff. 58-61; Lunt, *Financial Relations*, p. 592. His family seem to have all taken an interest in events in the East. His son and daughter possessed a newsletter dated 12 September 1481, outlining events in Constantinople after the death of Sultan Mehmed II and the turbulence preceding the accession of his son Bayezid II: C.A.J. Armstrong, 'A present for a prince - The survival of a newsletter', *The Times*, Saturday May 23 1936, pp. 15-16.

<sup>118</sup> Dominicus Mancinus, *The Usurpation of Richard III*, trans. C.A.J. Armstrong (London, 1936), p. 163; *Letters and Papers Illustrative of the Reigns of Richard III and Henry VII*, ed. J. Gairdner, RS 24, vol. 2 (London, 1863), pp. 170-4; *Letters of*

Their sympathy for the idea of a crusade explains why these rulers responded favourably to those refugees who entered their realms. The French treasury records for the period 1454-9 contain the names of at least thirty Byzantines who received alms from Charles VII. Among them were Constantine and Nicolas Branas who 'ont tout perdu à la prise de la ville de Constantinople'<sup>119</sup> and many similar examples can be extracted from English records<sup>120</sup>. James IV gave generous amounts to those who managed to reach as far as Edinburgh<sup>121</sup>.

It was not only monarchs whose interest in the crusade inclined them favourably towards the refugees. Many of the bishops were likewise involved in the plans being made between 1455 and 1464. Two French cardinals, Guillaume d'Estouteville, archbishop of Rouen and Alain Coetivy, archbishop of Avignon were closely identified as cardinals with the crusading policies of Calixtus III and Pius II. Both are to be found in connection with Byzantine exiles, either giving them letters of recommendation or involved in their efforts to urge participation in a crusade<sup>122</sup>. Domenico Capranica, cardinal priest of Santa Croce in Gerusalemme, twice supplied similar letters and was specifically sought out by John Argyropoulos in 1454 as being likely to help him ransom his family<sup>123</sup>.

*James The Fourth*, ed. R.K. Hannay, R.L. Mackie and A. Spilman (Edinburgh, 1953), pp. XXXVIII, 66.

<sup>119</sup> BN ms français 32511 (Cabinet de Titres, 685), ff. 175-209v, 175v

<sup>120</sup> PRO E404/70/3/43; E404/70/3/66; E404/71/5/22; E404/71/3/67; Gray, 'Greek visitors', pp. 81-116; R. Browning, 'Some early Greek visitors to England', *Essays in Memory of Basil Laourdas* (Thessalonica, 1975), pp. 387-95.

<sup>121</sup> *Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer*, vol. 2, pp. 147, 152, vol. 3, p. 379.

<sup>122</sup> Coetivy provided a letter of recommendation for John Jerarchis and was connected with François le Franc, the nephew of the Greek physician, Thomas Frank: BI Reg. 20, f. 167, full text in Appendix II, see below p. 193ff; BN ms français 32511, 175; M.L. Concasty, 'Les informations de Jacques Tedaldi sur le siège et la prise de Constantinople', *Byzantion*, 24 (1954), 95-110, esp. 95. D'Estouteville met the Byzantine ambassador, Nicolas Agallon at Rouen in 1454 and suggested he cross to England: Valois, 'Fragment', 284 and see above p. 48. On Coetivy in France see Setton, *Papacy and Levant*, vol. 2, pp. 165-6.

<sup>123</sup> BI Reg. 20, ff. 167-167v, full text in Appendix II, see below p. 193. J. Robertson, 'Letter of safe-conduct and recommendation granted by James II, King of the Scots, to Nicolas Georgiades of Arcosson', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, ns 2 (1854-7), 159-61; G. Zippel, 'Per la biografia dell'Argiropulo', *Giornale Storico della letteratura Italiana*, 28 (1896), 94. On Capranica see C. Eubel, *Hierarchia Catholica Medii Aevi*, vol. 2 (Münster, 1914), p. 6; M. Mordurgo-Castelnuovo, 'Il cardinale Domenico Capranica', *Archivio della*



In England, on the other hand, the higher clergy seem, at first sight, to have been less committed, for attempts by the Popes to collect a tithe from their incomes to finance an expedition to Constantinople encountered entrenched opposition<sup>124</sup>. However, the resistance of king and clergy to the imposition of clerical tenths was motivated rather by a dislike of the Pope's interference in English affairs than any opposition to the idea of a crusade. Indeed, the English bishops were responsible for having Papal bulls on the subject read out in churches throughout their dioceses on many occasions<sup>125</sup>. They also patronised individual refugees. Demetrius Palaeologus was assisted by the bishop of Salisbury, Richard Beauchamp, and Demetrius Comusius of Negroponte by the bishop of Ely, John Alcock, in 1488<sup>126</sup>.

The second factor which worked in favour of Byzantine exiles, especially in Italy, was the widespread interest in classical Greek language and literature which had developed during the first half of the century. In the fifty years before the fall of Constantinople several Italians, including Francesco Filelfo (1398-1481) and Guarino da Verona (1374-1460) took themselves off to Constantinople to acquire a knowledge of the Greek language and in the process established strong ties with the Byzantines. Filelfo had become the personal friend of the future Cardinal Bessarion when they both attended the lectures of Manuel Chrysocces in Constantinople during the 1420s and he had married the niece of Manuel Chrysoloras<sup>127</sup>.

Likewise, those Byzantine scholars who had visited Italy received a rapturous welcome as many took advantage of their presence to obtain instruction in Greek. Manuel Chrysoloras, who lectured in Florence from 1397, had all his expenses paid by Pallas Strozzi, a wealthy nobleman of that city. John Argyropoulos and George Gemistos Plethon, who both

*Società Romana di Storia Patria*, 52 (1929), 1-142.

<sup>124</sup> E.F. Jacob, 'Archbishop John Stafford', *TRHS*, 12 (1962), 1-23, esp. 17-22; Lunt, *Financial Relations*, pp. 132-40, 153-4.

<sup>125</sup> Those of Pius II of 1464 appear in many English episcopal registers: CUL EDR G/1/5, ff. 175-179v; SRO D/D/B6, f. 303 (orig. 303v-304); *Register of Thomas Bekynston*, vol. 1, no. 1586, pp. 415-17.

<sup>126</sup> WRO Episcopal Register of Richard Beauchamp, vol. 1, 2nd. series, ff. 43v-44; CUL EDR G/1/6, f. 21.

<sup>127</sup> Setton, 'Byzantine background', 72; L. Bréhier, 'Bessarion', *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques*, ed. I. Baudrillet, vol. 8 (Paris, 1935), col. 1181. For a notarial deed drawn up by Filelfo as imperial notary in Constantinople on 26 April 1423, see: ASV Cancelleria Inferiore, Notai 83II, quaderno 5.

attended the Council of Florence, remained some time in Italy afterwards at the invitation of their hosts<sup>128</sup>.

After the fall of Constantinople, the Italian philhellenes were to be found using their positions of influence to help the victims. Filelfo, who was an important figure in the Milanese court, was able to secure the release of his mother-in-law and two sisters-in-law by writing a direct appeal to the sultan and he also used his pen to urge educated men to assist others in the same situation<sup>129</sup>. The Florentine brothers, Donato and Piero Acciaiuoli, supported John Argyropoulos in the period immediately after 1453, writing letters on his behalf and later providing a house for himself and his family<sup>130</sup>.

This network of humanist friends and contacts also worked to the advantage of the refugees outside Italy. Filelfo was apparently acquainted with Guillaume Jouvenal des Ursins, chancellor of France, for in May 1454 he wrote to him recommending Manuel Agallon and Manuel Iagoup, both Byzantine nobles, requesting him to use his influence with the French king on their behalf<sup>131</sup>. In the case of Agallon, at least, this seems to have worked for a generous gift of 78 livres 15 sols was bestowed on 'Messire Manoli Agallo, chevalier du pays de Grèce' around the same time<sup>132</sup>. There are many other examples of similar letters of recommendation addressed to important figures in Western Europe among Filelfo's extant letters<sup>133</sup>.

Indeed, the network seems to have stretched very widely and have been responsible for sending refugees to areas where they might not otherwise be expected to be found. In September 1455 Michael

<sup>128</sup> Vespasiano, p. 235; *Acta Graduum Academicorum Gymnasii Patavini*, vol. 1, pt. 2, no. 1820, p. 187; Syropoulos, *Mémoires*, bk. V, ch. 3, p. 258; Ducas, ch. XXXI, p. 214; Setton, 'Byzantine background', 70; Thompson, 'Manuel Chrysoloras', 63-82.

<sup>129</sup> *Cent dix lettres grecques*, pp. 63-8; Filelfo, *Epistolae* (1506), bk. XII, 6 ides April 1454, kalends April 1454, 6 kalends June 1455, 5 kalends November 1455: To Pallas Strozzi, Ludovico Casella and Ludovico Gonzaga, marquis of Mantua.

<sup>130</sup> Vespasiano, p. 274; Zippel, 'Per la biografia dell'Argiropulo', 94-5; Cammelli, *I dotti bizantini. II: Giovanni Argiropulo*, pp. 65-84.

<sup>131</sup> Filelfo, *Epistolae* (1506), bk. XII, 9 kalends June 1454.

<sup>132</sup> BN ms français 32511, f. 175v. Manuel may also have been the same person as Manuel 'Egal' who received alms from the duke of Burgundy at Nevers in 1454: ADN B2017, f. 237v.

<sup>133</sup> For example to Louis XI of France, recommending George Glykys: Francesco Filelfo, *Epistolarum Familiarum Libri XXXVII* (Venice, 1502), p. 209. To the marquis of Monferrat, in favour of Demetrius Palaeologus: Filelfo, *Epistolae* (1506), bk. XV, 4 nones June 1459.



'Charsianit' (probably Charsianites) of Constantinople received a letter of indulgence from the bishop of Ely to help him to raise enough money to ransom eleven members of his family and household. The document is dated from the bishop's manor at Downham, strongly suggesting that Michael himself was in Eastern England when it was issued<sup>134</sup>.

Michael's presence in that particular part of England may be explained by the fact that the then bishop of Ely was William Grey, a man who had travelled widely earlier in his career and who had spent a good deal of time in Italy. There he had made numerous contacts in humanist circles, studying under Guarino da Verona and becoming the personal friend of the scholarly Pope Nicolas V<sup>135</sup>.

What is more significant is the fact that he also seems to have become acquainted with at least two individuals who are known to have been active in supporting refugees. One was the Florentine, Donato Acciaiuoli, the patron of John Argyropoulos<sup>136</sup> and the other was no less a person than Cardinal Bessarion. During his stay in Rome, Grey had been asked by his secretary, Niccolò Perotti, to secure him a place in the Greek cardinal's household so that he could learn Greek. Grey was able to fulfil this request so that he must have at least been known to Bessarion<sup>137</sup>.

Either Acciaiuoli or Bessarion might have provided Michael Charsianites with letters of recommendation addressed to Grey<sup>138</sup>, just as Filelfo used his French contacts on behalf of Manuel Agallón. It is likely, too, that Grey's own scholarly interests may have played some part. He does not seem to have learned Greek while studying under

<sup>134</sup> CUL EDR G/1/5, ff. 10v-11; *Ely Diocesan Remembrancer* (1904), p. 131. The indulgence includes an exhortation that Michael should be well received when he went 'ad vos vel loca vestra', which also suggests that Michael was actually in that part of England.

<sup>135</sup> Guarino da Verona, *Epistolario*, ed R. Sabbadini, vol. 3 (Venice, 1919), p. 501; R. Weiss, *Humanism in England during the Fifteenth Century* (Oxford, 1957, 2nd ed.), pp. 86-90.

<sup>136</sup> A. De La Mare, 'Vespasiano da Bisticci and Gray', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 20 (1957), 174-6.

<sup>137</sup> Vespasiano, p. 185; Weiss, *Humanism*, p. 90. On Perotti see G. Mercati, *Per la cronologia della vita di Niccolò Perotti, Studi e Testi*, 44 (Rome, 1925).

<sup>138</sup> As Bessarion did in the case of Thomas Eparchos and George Diplovatatzes, who then carried them to England: BI Reg. 20, ff. 167v-168, full text in Appendix II, below p. 193. Grey was certainly in touch with Italy during 1455, for a member of his household, John 'Valtim' was in Rome in April of that year: ASVat Reg. Vat. 436, f. 176v (orig. 178v); *CPL*, vol. 11, p. 5.

Guarino da Verona but he may have been interested in it. He possessed a Graeco-Latin lexicon among his collection of books<sup>139</sup> and this interest may have inclined him favourably towards Greeks<sup>140</sup>.

Letters of recommendation from humanist contacts in Italy may also have served to draw another Byzantine refugee, John Stauracios, to the attention of Thomas Bekynton, bishop of Bath and Wells. Bekynton also had contacts in humanist circles in Italy, notably Flavio Biondo with whom he had exchanged letters in 1441<sup>141</sup>. Biondo was an important figure in Rome. He frequented the house of Cardinal Bessarion and was in favour with Pius II whom he accompanied to the Congress of Mantua in 1459<sup>142</sup>. In October 1459, shortly after the close of the congress Bekynton issued an indulgence on behalf of Stauracios, describing him as an inhabitant of Constantinople who had fought in the final siege of the city. His father and one of his brothers had been killed and his mother and several other members of his family sold into slavery. These details, the document specifically states, were brought to the bishop's notice by letters, though whose these letters were is not disclosed<sup>143</sup>. Biondo, Pius or perhaps even Bessarion may have been behind Stauracios's decision to journey to the West of England<sup>144</sup>.

<sup>139</sup> R.A.B. Mynors, *Catalogue of the Manuscripts of Baliol College, Oxford* (Oxford, 1963), no. 155, p. 140. His family had had some contact with Byzantium in the past. In late 1400 Manuel II had been escorted across the English channel to Dover by Richard, Lord Grey of Codnor, who may have been the father of the future bishop of Ely: PRO E404/20/299; *DNB*, vol. 8, p. 655.

<sup>140</sup> His episcopal register contains one other similar indulgence, dated 1469, on behalf of Demetrius Crisarios and Theodore Gouias: CUL EDR G/1/5, f. 74; calendared in *Ely Diocesan Remembrancer* (1905), p. 213. The same pair also received a royal licence to collect alms: PRO C81/812/2120; *Excerpta Historica or Illustrations of English History*, ed. S. Bentley (London, 1833), p. 392.

<sup>141</sup> *Official Correspondence of Thomas Bekynton*, vol. 1, nos. CXXII, CXXIII, CLXXX, pp. 169-71, 241-2; M.R. James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge*, vol. 1 (Cambridge, 1912), no. 205, pp. 494-5; Weiss, *Humanism*, pp. 71-5.

<sup>142</sup> He dedicated his *Roma Triumphans* to Pius, expressing the hope in his dedicatory epistle that God would crown the expedition against the Turks with success: Setton, *Papacy and Levant*, vol. 2, p. 215; Setton, 'Byzantine background', 73.

<sup>143</sup> SRO D/D/6, f. 246 (orig. 246v): 'litterarum testimoniis'. *Register of Thomas Bekynton*, vol. 1, no. 1254, p. 330.

<sup>144</sup> The Wells indulgence is the only evidence for Stauracios's visit to England and, in common with most of the refugees, he remains an obscure figure. It is possible, though, that he was the John 'Stavarichi' of Constantinople who was living on Crete in 1461 or the John Stauracios who was attached to the court of the Emperor



Crusading plans of monarchs and literary interests of intellectuals therefore played an important part in securing a welcome for Greek refugees in the West. Moreover, it should be noted that the devotees of Greek literature were often among the strongest supporters of the proposed crusade and vice versa. Filelfo was a strident crusading propagandist, subjecting European monarchs to lengthy epistolary harangues on the subject of their duty as Christian princes<sup>145</sup> while Alfonso V was a patron of learning and sheltered the scholar Theodore Gaza at his court for several years<sup>146</sup>. Nevertheless, whatever the exact motive, the end result was the same.

#### 4. Changing attitudes in the West: publicity and propaganda

So much for the attitude of the ruling classes of society but what about the mass of the population? They certainly cannot have shared the literary interests of Filelfo or Grey and it might well be asked how much they knew about the events in the East which had prompted many of their rulers to support the proposed crusade. However, a number of factors ensured that many ordinary people throughout Western Europe were not only well-informed about the Turkish threat but also sympathetic to the refugees.

In the first place, kings, dukes and bishops could use their influence to ensure that the refugees were well received by the rest of the population. Letters of indulgence were often used to this end. As early as 1440 Eugenius IV had made such an indulgence available to those who contributed to the ransoms of fourteen monks from Thessalonica<sup>147</sup>, but Pius II appears to have been the first Pope to issue them for individual refugees and to do so on a large scale. These letters granted exemption from penances prescribed by the Church over a certain period to those

Frederick III in 1468: Iorga, *Notes et extraits*, vol. 4, p. 190; B. Laourdas, 'Ἡ πρὸς τὸν Αὐτοκράτορα Φρειδερίκον τὸν τρίτον ἑκκλησίᾳ τοῦ Μιχαήλ 'Αποστόλη', Γέρας 'Αντωνίου Κεραμοπούλλου (Athens, 1953), pp. 516-27, esp. 518-23.  
<sup>145</sup> See, for example, his letter to Charles VII: Filelfo, *Epistolae* (1506), bk. VIII, 13 kalends March 1451; L. Gualdo Rosa, 'Il Filelfo e i Turchi - un inedito storico dell' Archivio Vaticano', *Università di Napoli. Annali della Facoltà di Lettere e filosofia*, 11 (1964-8), 109-65.

<sup>146</sup> Geanakoplos, 'Theodore Gaza', 70-1. It is probable that he was the 'poet' Theodore to whom Alfonso granted a pension in 1457: Iorga, *Notes et extraits*, vol. 4, p. 163.

<sup>147</sup> ASVat Reg. Vat. 370, ff. 245-245v; *Acta Eugenii Papae IV* (1431-47), ed. G. Fedalto (Rome, 1990), no. 938, pp. 936-7.

who gave alms to the beneficiary for the freeing of captives and they usually contained a brief outline of the calamities which had befallen the bearer and exhortation to Christians to give generously to relieve his plight. Typical of Pius's indulgences are those of 30 May 1459 on behalf of Demetrius and Michael Leontaris of Constantinople and of 18 July 1461 on behalf of Theodore Eugenicos<sup>148</sup>. Bishops also issued indulgences for refugees and the text of several survive in English episcopal registers<sup>149</sup>.

The possession of such letters did make a difference. Isaac Palaeologus received twenty two sous from the municipal council of Compiègne because he carried Papal bulls outlining his case<sup>150</sup>, and Manuel 'Penelopes' received similar treatment at Amiens because he carried a letter from the duke of Burgundy<sup>151</sup>. Individuals as well as councils responded to the appeal for alms made in letters carried by the refugees. Demetrius Rosata of Mytilene, who had a letter from the archdeacon of Richmond urging the people of Yorkshire to receive him well, was given a gift of money by a certain John Botery during 1471<sup>152</sup>.

Moreover, it would seem that ecclesiastical indulgences had the effect of providing a safe-conduct for the bearer in the lands through which he passed. That provided by Bishop Alcock of Ely for Demetrius Comusius, for example, contained a clause instructing the local people to

<sup>148</sup> ASVat Reg. Vat. 471, f. 202v; ASVat Reg. Vat. 505, ff. 378-378v; Setton, *Papacy and Levant*, vol. 2, p. 208, n. 32; N. Paulus, *Indulgences as a Social Factor during the Middle Ages*, trans. J. Elliot-Ross (New York, 1922), pp. 53-5.

<sup>149</sup> See, for example: WRO Episcopal Register of Richard Beauchamp, vol. 1, 2nd series, ff. 43v-44; CUL EDR G/1/6, f. 21.

<sup>150</sup> De l'Epinois, 'Notes extraites', 498: 'A Ysaachins et Alexis, son fils, cousin germain de l'empereur de Constantinople, ainsi qu'il est apparu par bulles de N.S. Père le Pape et par mandement royal, lequel a esté prins par les ennemis de la foi et detenu prisonnier audit lieu de Constantinople, dont il est eslargy aux cautions de deux de ses filles, ainsi que portent les dictes bulles en don pour sa redemption ...'. The bulls referred to are in all probability those in favour of Isaac Palaeologus and his son Alexis, copies of which are preserved in ASVat Reg. Vat. 503, ff. 238v-240 and ASVat Reg. Vat. 512, f. 3; Baronius, *Annales Ecclesiastici*, vol. 29, pp. 340-1.

<sup>151</sup> *Inventaire analytique des archives communales (Amiens)*, vol. 4, p. 211. A Manuel of Constantinople was well received at Abbeville because he was 'grandement recommandé par trois cardinaux': Prarond, *Quelques faits*, p. 79.

<sup>152</sup> John Rylands Library, Manchester, ms Latin 333, ff. 63v-64; BL Stowe Charter pt. 2 - 1465-77, 'The Register of the archdeacons of Richmond, 1442-77, *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, 32 (1936), no. 299, 127; Lunt, *Financial Relations*, p. 499.



treat the bearer well<sup>153</sup>. The Papal indulgence on behalf of Alexander Asanes would have served this function, specifically recommending him to the inhabitants of the domains of the duke of Burgundy<sup>154</sup>. In the same way, licences to solicit alms issued by secular monarchs would have protected the holder from molestation by zealous officials and acted as some deterrent to lawbreakers<sup>155</sup>.

However, there was more to these indulgences and letters of safe-conduct than mere charity. By this means wide publicity was given to the situation in the East, for copies of such letters were carried all over Europe. One Greek nobleman toured the churches and monasteries of Spain, offering indulgences to those who gave him assistance on the authority of his Papal bull<sup>156</sup>. Another, George Theophilus who was given a letter of indulgence by Pius II in February 1462, proceeded to visit England and France to try and raise the ransom of his mother and sisters<sup>157</sup>.

However, it was not only from letters issued by their rulers and clergy that the general population of Europe learned about the situation in the East. Over the fifty years before 1453, they had been subjected to numerous influences which had increased their knowledge of what was happening in Eastern Christendom and their sympathy towards the Christians who lived there. The visit of Manuel II, the Council of Florence and the fall of Constantinople in particular had been widely reported and had made a significant impact on all levels of society.

Manuel II's progress through Europe in 1400-2 and his arrival in the cities on his route must have made a great impression on their inhabitants, thanks to the colourful displays which attended his progress. At Padua he was received to the sound of music and rejoicing, and at

<sup>153</sup> CUL EDR G/1/6, f. 21. Alcock's indulgence urges that when Demetrius and his companion, Charles Cevaál 'ad vos ecclesias seu loca vestra accesserint seu accessit, Christi fidelium elemosinas pie petituri et collecturi, ipsos, sive eorum alterum, litteras nostras presentes deportantes, favorabiliter admittatis et pertractetis...'

<sup>154</sup> ASVat Reg. Vat. 472, f. 334v (orig. 332v). See Appendix I, below p. 191.

<sup>155</sup> BN ms français 5909, ff. 158-158v; PRO C81\812\2120; C82/344; C82/362; LP, vol. 1, nos. 357 (23) and 750 (4); *Excerpta Historica*, p. 392; Robertson, 'Letter of safe-conduct', 159-61; *Documentos sobre relaciones*, vol. 4, nos. 311, 312, 334, pp. 321-4, 336-7, vol. 5, no. 169, pp. 305-6.

<sup>156</sup> *Documentos sobre relaciones*, vol. 5, no. 198, pp. 513-14.

<sup>157</sup> ASVat Reg. Vat. 507, ff. 101v-102 (orig. 99v-100); PRO E403/827 (B), membrane 2; De l'Épinois, 'Notes extraites', 498. Theophilus may also have gone to Spain: *Documentos sobre relaciones*, vol. 1, no. 34, p. 25.

Genoa with multi-coloured banners<sup>158</sup>. After meeting the duke of Milan at Pavia, he moved on to Paris, where the king rode out to meet him, so that they could re-enter the city together amidst great pomp. In England, he received a similar welcome from Henry IV who accompanied him from Blackheath to London<sup>159</sup>. Both the kings of England and France spent large sums on public events in the emperor's honour<sup>160</sup>. He heard mass with Charles VI at Saint-Denis before a large congregation and in London a tournament and a masquerade performed by twelve aldermen and their sons were laid on for his entertainment<sup>161</sup>.

Moreover, the publicising of the plight of the Byzantine Empire and of Turkish threat during Manuel's visit was not restricted only to the cities where the emperor stayed. In England, locked chests were placed in parish churches throughout the country to receive gifts of money to be used for the defence of Constantinople<sup>162</sup>. The visit must also have attracted attention in countries in which Manuel never set foot. While staying in Paris, he despatched embassies to the queen of Norway, Denmark and Sweden and to the rulers of Aragon, Castile and Navarre<sup>163</sup>. As far afield as Scotland and Wales, Papal indulgences were

<sup>158</sup> Andrea Gataro, *Istoria Padovana*, RIS 17 (Milan, 1730), col. 837; Giorgio Stella, *Annales Genuenses*, RIS 17 (Milan, 1730), col. 1196; Sanudo, *Vite de' duchi*, col. 789.

<sup>159</sup> *Annales Mediolanenses*, RIS 16 (Milan, 1730), ch. CLXII, col. 833; *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denis*, pp. 754-8; Thomas Walsingham, *Historia Anglicana*, ed. H.T. Riley, RS 28 vol. 2 (London, 1864), p. 247; Nicol, 'Byzantine emperor', 211-15.

<sup>160</sup> *Choix de pièces inédites relatives au règne de Charles VI*, ed. Douët-d'Arcq, vol. 1 (Paris, 1863), no. LXXXI, pp. 197-8; *The Brut or the Chronicles of England*, F.W.D. Brie, vol. 2, *Early English Text Society*, 136 (London, 1908), p. 364. Henry had, in fact, to borrow the sum of £666, thirteen shillings and sixpence from Richard Whittington after the emperor's departure to cover the costs of the visit: C.M. Barron, 'Richard Whittington: The man behind the myth', *Studies in London History Presented to P.E. Jones*, ed. A.E.J. Hollaender and W. Kellaway (London, 1969), pp. 197-248, esp. pp. 206, 237.

<sup>161</sup> PRO E361/5, membrane 12; *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denis*, p. 775; *Chronicles of London*, ed. C.L. Kingsford (Oxford, 1905), p. 267; Wylie, *Henry IV*, vol. 4, p. 220.

<sup>162</sup> Walsingham, *Historia Anglicana*, vol. 2, p. 229; Lunt, *Financial Relations*, pp. 549-57.

<sup>163</sup> Dennis, 'Two unknown documents', 397-404; Marinesco, 'Du nouveau sur les relations de Manuel II', 421-2, 426, n. 1; Setton, *Papacy and Levant*, vol. 2, p. 373.



offered to those who gave money for or who participated in the defence of Constantinople<sup>164</sup>.

The Council of Florence prompted similar interest throughout Europe, even though this time the emperor and his delegation did not stray beyond Italy. The arrival of the Byzantine delegation was immediately reported by the Venetians to the English. French and Hungarian kings and the young king of England, Henry VI, wrote earnest letters both to John VIII and to the Patriarch Joseph, urging them to make every effort to ensure that Union was achieved<sup>165</sup>. His subjects must also have been aware of what was taking place at Florence. The Pope had ordered prayers to be said throughout the kingdom for the success of the Council<sup>166</sup> and when the news that union had been achieved reached London on 28 August 1439, it was proclaimed to the people from St. Paul's cross. The king ordered that public thanksgivings should take place and, according to the Papal nuncio, Piero del Monte, there were 'great manifestations of joy and gladness' in the streets. These celebrations were not confined to London but were also organised by some of the bishops in provincial sees<sup>167</sup>. Papal indulgences for those who contributed towards the heavy expenses of the council were made available throughout the country and many people donated to this cause<sup>168</sup>.

It is noticeable that both emperors seem to have received a very cordial reception from the local populations of Italy, France and England.

<sup>164</sup> *Calendar of Papal Letters to Scotland of Benedict XIII of Avignon, 1394-1419*, ed. F. McGurk (Edinburgh, 1976), pp. 115, 171; *The Episcopal Registers of the Diocese of St. Davids, 1397-1518*, ed. and trans. R.F. Isaacson, vol. 1, Cymmrodorion Record Society, 6 (London, 1917), p. 106.

<sup>165</sup> ASV Senato, Misti reg. 60, f. 57v; *Official Correspondence of Thomas Bekynton*, vol. 2, nos. CCXXVI and CCXXVII, pp. 77-80; CPL, vol. 8, p. 232. Henry planned early in 1439 to send representatives of his own to the council but although the Byzantine priest Syropoulos recorded that he met an English delegation in a hostelry on his way back from Florence to Venice after the proclamation of the Union, Joseph Gill is sceptical that any English ambassadors were ever sent: Syropoulos, *Mémoires*, bk. X, ch. 27, p. 514; Gill, *Council of Florence*, pp. 300-1.

<sup>166</sup> *Register of Henry Chichele*, vol. 3, p. 268.

<sup>167</sup> William Gregory, *Chronicle*, ed. J. Gairdner, Camden Society, ns 17 (London, 1876), p. 182; *Official Correspondence of Thomas Bekynton*, vol. 2, no. CCXIV, pp. 49-51; G. Hofmann, 'Briefe eines Päpstlichen Nuntius in London', OCP, 5 (1939), 407-33, esp. 425, 431; Gill, *Council of Florence*, p. 299.

<sup>168</sup> SRO D/D/5, ff. 160-162v; *The Register of John Stafford*, ed. T. Scott-Holmes, vol. 2, Somerset Record Society, 32 (Frome and London, 1916), no. 762, pp. 241-5; Lunt, *Financial Relations*, pp. 570-3.

According to Ducas, John VIII was feted by the Italians as if he had been their own monarch. Giovanni de Pigli welcomed him into his home at Peretola, just outside Florence, when the emperor stopped off on the way back from Prato and this event was later commemorated by Pigli having the arms of the Palaeologi painted over the door of his house<sup>169</sup>.

Part of the favourable reception was the curiosity shown by the Westerners about the persons and customs of their guests. The long beards of the Greeks were a source of fascination and their manner of dress was noted in detail, especially the strong contrast between the austere white which Manuel II and his followers wore and the colourful French and English local fashions<sup>170</sup>.

In general, the Westerners were very impressed by what they saw. They commented on the regal bearing of Manuel II and Vespasiano da Bisticci considered that the Greek delegates at Florence had a more dignified demeanour than the Latin prelates<sup>171</sup>. Artists copied the distinguished appearance and exotic dress of the visiting emperors in their work. Manuel is thought to have been used by the Limburg brothers as Augustus and one of the Magi in *Les très riches heures du Duc de Berry* while the features of one of the Three Kings in Benozzo Gozzoli's *Journey of the Magi* in the chapel of the Palazzo Medici-Riccardi in Florence are probably those of John VIII<sup>172</sup>.

<sup>169</sup> Ducas, ch. XXXI, pp. 212-13; K.M. Setton, 'The Emperor John VIII slept here ...', *Speculum*, 33 (1958), 222-8.

<sup>170</sup> *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denis*, p. 756; Adam of Usk, *Chronicon*, pp. 57, 219-20; Barker, *Manuel II*, p. 397. The beards were not always seen as enhancing the appearance of the Byzantines, however. One Italian observer at the Council of Florence was tempted to laugh at them: Hody, *De Graecis Illustribus*, pp. 31, 136.

<sup>171</sup> Vespasiano, p. 25. Manuel's noble appearance is also mentioned in Byzantine sources and some observers thought he had passed on the trait to his son, Thomas, despot of the Morea: Sphrantzes, bk. XI, ch. 2, p. 14; Pastor, *History of the Popes*, vol. 3, no. 43, p. 403; Setton, *Papacy and Levant*, vol. 2, p. 228.

<sup>172</sup> J. Herald, *Renaissance Dress in Italy* (London, 1981), p. 97; Setton, *Papacy and Levant*, vol. 1, p. 375, vol. 2, p. 208. For these and other representations of these emperors in western art see C. Marinesco, 'Deux empereurs byzantins, Manuel II et Jean VIII Paléologue, vus par des artistes occidentaux', *Le Flambeau*, 40 (Nov-Dec. 1957), 758-62; Barker, *Manuel II*, pp. 534-40. Bessarion, with his long beard and patriarchal appearance, often served Italian painters for St. Jerome and other church fathers: H. Vast, *Le Cardinal Bessarion* (Paris, 1878), pp. 298-9; R. Weiss, 'Two unnoticed "portraits" of Cardinal Bessarion', *Italian Studies*, 22 (1967), 1-5.



The two imperial visits also did much to promote religious tolerance. Although some people were shocked when Charles VI publicly heard mass with Manuel at Saint-Denis, others admired the king's effort to produce a reconciliation and many Parisians went to watch the spectacle of their Byzantine visitors worshipping according to their own rite. At Florence in 1439 observers were so impressed by the sight of the Orthodox liturgy that many revised their earlier estimate of Greeks as barbarians<sup>173</sup>.

English comments on Byzantine religion even betray a hint of envy. It was observed that, in contrast to western practice, Manuel II and his retinue celebrated their liturgy in their own tongue and that the words were recited both by priests and laymen<sup>174</sup>. This aroused great curiosity and the clergy in Manuel's company were closely questioned by some of their hosts as to whether the language of their liturgy and scriptures was the same as the spoken language. The answer was that the two were different<sup>175</sup> but nevertheless one gets the impression that the English were struck by the fact that lay people played a greater part in and had a higher understanding of the rituals of the Church than was the case in the West<sup>176</sup>.

Of course, many Westerners remained deeply ignorant of the real beliefs of the Orthodox Church. One London tradesman was apparently under the impression that the Byzantines believed neither in the

<sup>173</sup> *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denis*, p. 775; Jouvenal des Ursins, *Histoire de Charles VI*, pp. 418-19; Ducas, bk. XXXI, pp. 212-13.

<sup>174</sup> *Eulogium Historiarum*, vol. 3, p. 388; Adam of Usk, *Chronicon*, p. 57, pp. 219-20.

<sup>175</sup> GL ms. 9531/10, f. 49v (orig. 45v); Sturge, *Cuthbert Tunstall*, p. 133: 'Fuerunt Greci qui venerunt in Angliam cum Imperatore Constantinopoli, anno Domini millesimo CCCCLX (sic). Qui Imperator existens in Manerio domini Regis Henerici Quarti post Conquestum, anno regni sui secundo, habens secum episcopi et sacerdotes de quibus cum fuisset inquisitum numquid populares et vulgares eorum intellegerent et scripturas divinas lectas sive recitatas inter eos, dixerunt quod non sed Sacra Scriptura est edita in linguagio totaliter ignoto popularibus et populares habent Grecum totaliter diversum ab illo Greco in quo continetur divinum eloquium'. The date 1460 is clearly an error since the scribe later gives the second year of Henry IV (1400-1) as the date of the incident and there being no Byzantine emperors after 1453. According to a marginal note this episode was copied into the Guildhall Library episcopal register from a book in the collection of the London Blackfriars.

<sup>176</sup> In the 1380s John Wyclif had even gone so far as to assert that it was the Greeks rather than the Latins, who had preserved the true faith of Christ: *De Christo et suo Adversario Antichristo*, in *John Wyclif's Polemical Works in Latin*, ed. R. Buddensieg, *Wyclif Society* (London, 1883), vol. 2, p. 672.

sacraments nor the Holy Ghost<sup>177</sup>. Yet people in the West do seem to have been eager to learn about Eastern Christianity and to have been genuinely pleased by the outcome of the Council of Florence. It is also noticeable that, as the century progressed, Greeks were increasingly seen as co-religionists. The practice of keeping Greek captives as slaves, for example, gradually dwindled as sermons were preached against the evil of enslaving fellow-Christians<sup>178</sup>.

Most important of all, apart from promoting a more positive attitude towards the Byzantines and their Church, the two imperial visits to the West must have brought home the reality of the threat to Christendom posed by the Turks. People there had long known that the Byzantine Empire had become a shadow of its former self<sup>179</sup> and the appearance of Manuel II in the West was further proof. The English priest, Adam of Usk, was deeply moved by the event:

I thought in my heart how cruel it was that this great Christian prince from the distant east had been compelled by the threats of the infidel to visit the far-off isles of the west to supplicate for help against them. My God! Where art thou, ancient glory of Rome? Today the splendour of thy Empire is laid low and it can indeed be said of thee in the words of Jeremias, 'She that was a princess among the heathen and a queen among the nations, is now enslaved'. Who would have believed that thou wouldst sink into such utter misery, that after having once governed the whole world from thy throne of eminence, thou art now quite powerless to help the Christian faith.<sup>180</sup>

<sup>177</sup> William Gregory, *Chronicle*, p. 182. The members of an English delegation which encountered Silvester Syropoulos after the conclusion of the council were not interested in his account of the complicated theological discussions which had taken place but merely wished to know who had won: Syropoulos, *Mémoires*, bk. X, ch. 27, p. 514.

<sup>178</sup> J. Miret Y Sans, *La esclavitud en Cataluña en los últimos tiempos de la edad media* (New York and Paris, 1917), p. 24; Verlinden, *L'esclavage*, vol. 1, pp. 321-30.

<sup>179</sup> The most widely-read travel book of the Middle Ages, *The Travels of Sir John Mandeville*, laments that although the emperor of Constantinople had once ruled half the world, now 'he hath lost all but Grece...': *Mandeville's Travels*, ed. P. Hamelius, vol. 1, *Early English Text Society*, 153 (London, 1919), p. 5.

<sup>180</sup> Adam of Usk, *Chronicon*, Latin text: p. 57, trans: pp. 219-20.



Many others seem also to have felt this. There was a generous response by ordinary people to the appeal for funds for the defence of the city. Three thousand marks were collected in England and five hundred gold ducats in Siena<sup>181</sup>. Of the English money, much was donated by the king and the great magnates, but ordinary people also contributed<sup>182</sup>. Others, drawn from all corners of the Christian world, responded to the Pope's call for crusaders to participate in the war against the Turks<sup>183</sup>.

Sympathy for the Byzantines as fellow Christians oppressed by the infidel must have increased when news arrived of the fall of Constantinople in 1453, which was widely publicised throughout Europe. In Italy, of course, the news spread rapidly since there was a well grounded fear that Mehmed II might next choose to lead his armies across the Adriatic<sup>184</sup>, yet the event was also greeted with shock and horror in lands where there was no immediate threat. Several English vernacular chronicles recorded it and were generally in agreement that it was 'a great losse unto all Christendome'<sup>185</sup>. The city's fate was lamented in a poem in Catalan and the disaster was still remembered annually in the services of the Scottish church fifty years after it had happened. Thus Andronicus

<sup>181</sup> PRO E403/569, membrane 22; *Royal and Historical Letters*, vol. 1, no. XXV, pp. 56-7; English translation in Barker, *Manuel II*, pp. 497-9; Müller, *Documenti*, no. XCIX, pp. 147-8.

<sup>182</sup> *Anglo-Norman Letters*, no. 103, p. 152; Lunt, *Financial Relations*, p. 551, 554-5. For amounts collected from the people in the diocese of Chichester, see: *The Episcopal Register of Robert Rede, Bishop of Chichester (1396-1415)*, ed. C. Deedes, vol. 1, *Sussex Record Society*, 8 (London, 1908), pp. 73-4.

<sup>183</sup> ASVat Reg. Vat. 436, ff. 102-102v (orig. 104-104v), Reg. Vat. 462, f. 229v, Reg. Vat. 504, ff. 85-85v; *CPL*, vol. 11, pp. 173, 590; *Litterae Cantuariensis*, ed. J.B. Sheppard, *RS* 85, vol. 3 (London, 1889), no. 1051, p. 239; *Materials for a History of the Reign of Henry VII*, ed. W. Campbell, *RS* 60, vol. 2 (London, 1877), pp. 257-8; Barker, *Manuel II*, p. 160; C. Tyerman, *England and the Crusades* (Chicago, 1988), pp. 302-33; W.R.B. Robinson, 'Sir Hugh Johnys: a fifteenth century Welsh knight', *Morgannwg*, 14 (1970), 5-34; A.J. Dunlop, *The Life and Times of James Kennedy, Bishop of St. Andrews* (London and Edinburgh, 1950), pp. 368-9.

<sup>184</sup> Sanudo, *Vite de' duchi*, col. 1151; Setton, *Papacy and Levant*, vol. 2, pp. 138-9.

<sup>185</sup> *Brut*, vol. 2, p. 515; *Chronicles of London*, p. 164; Events like the Turkish defeat at Belgrade and the projected crusades of Calixtus III and Pius II also received attention: *Brut*, vol. 2, pp. 522, 524, 526.

Callistus was not far wrong when he claimed that all nations mourned the loss of the city<sup>186</sup>.

Various local events must have informed people about the disaster and brought home its magnitude. In England and Ireland solemn processions were held in cathedrals and parish churches in to pray for the defeat of the Turks<sup>187</sup>. In the duchy of Burgundy, the duke publicly took the cross and swore to recapture the city in a lavish festival at Lille on 17 February 1454<sup>188</sup>. Papal indulgences for the crusade and for the ransoming of captives were made available throughout the duke's domains<sup>189</sup>.

The promotion of the crusade and the publicising of the situation in the East was not restricted to the period immediately after 1453 but continued throughout the century. Papal legates were regularly despatched to the various countries to remind their monarchs of the question. Giovanni de' Gigli and Luca de' Tolenti fulfilled this role in England and the duchy of Burgundy and were responsible for publishing indulgences and gathering clerical tenths for the purposes of the crusade<sup>190</sup>. The invention of printing further facilitated this dissemination of news so that the Turkish threat was kept in the public eye<sup>191</sup>.

For their part, the Greeks, both visitors and permanent settlers, did all they could to take advantage of public concern about the Turkish threat. The sacred books, icons and relics which they often brought with

<sup>186</sup> Callistus, *Monodia*, col. 1141; D.S. Cirac Estopañan, *Bizancio y España: La caída del Imperio bizantino y los Españoles* (Barcelona, 1954), pp. 101-10; *Breviarium Aberdonense*, ed. W. Blew, *Maitland Club*, 70 (London, 1854), vol. 2, 'Proprium sanctorum ... pro tempore hyemali' (final section of vol.), f. LXXXViv.

<sup>187</sup> SRO D/D/6, ff. 183-184; *Register of Thomas Bekynton*, vol. 1, no. 861, p. 235; D. Gilbert, *The Parochial History of Cornwall*, vol. 4 (London, 1838), pp. 147-8 citing ref. 'Ware's History of Ireland, vol. 1, p. 359'. The staging of such events varied from diocese to diocese. In 1456 public processions to mark the defeat of the Turks at Belgrade were held in Oxford but nowhere else: Thomas Gascoigne, *Loci et Libro Veritatum*, p. 48.

<sup>188</sup> Olivier de la Marche, vol. 2, ch. 29, pp. 1-32; Vaughan, *Philip the Good*, pp. 143-5.

<sup>189</sup> F. Remy, *Les grandes indulgences pontificales aux Pays-Bas à la fin du moyen âge* (Louvain, 1928), pp. 194-204; Jongkees, *Staat en Kerk*, pp. 162-4.

<sup>190</sup> J. Paquet, 'Les missions dans les Pays-Bas de Luc de Tolentis, évêque de Sebenico (1462-84)', *Bulletin de l'Institut Belge de Rome*, 25 (1949), 27-144; *CPL*, vol. 14, pp. 52-3; Lunt, *Financial Relations*, pp. 153-4.

<sup>191</sup> J.W. Clark, 'A new copy of Caxton's indulgence', *Speculum*, 9 (1934), 301-3. Printed indulgences are also to be found in favour of individual Greek refugees: Bodleian Library, Oxford Arch.A.b.8 (12); *STC*, nos. 14077c.129-30.



them, for example, emphasised their connection with the threatened 'Holy Places' of the East<sup>192</sup>. During his visit to the West, Manuel II liberally distributed fragments of the tunic of Christ and Manuel Chrysoloras presented a codex of the works of Dionysius the Areopagite to the abbey of Saint-Denis on Manuel's behalf in 1408<sup>193</sup>. Anna Notaras brought several icons with her to Venice and Bessarion donated a wooden reliquary of the True Cross presented to the Scuola della Carità there in 1463<sup>194</sup>.

However, on a more mundane level such objects were also used to attract favourable treatment from possible benefactors. Thomas Palaeologus, the despot of the Morea, had with him the head of St. Andrew, the right arm of John the Baptist and an embroidered cope<sup>195</sup>, and the queen of Cyprus, Charlotte Lusignan, a volume of the Acts and Epistles written in gold<sup>196</sup>, when they arrived in Rome to throw themselves on the mercy of the Pope. Alternatively, sacred objects could simply be sold. In 1457 a Greek offered the tunic of Christ to the government of Venice for ten thousand ducats and in Florence a fugitive

<sup>192</sup> In this they mirrored a time honoured Byzantine diplomatic practice in the past, when such treasures were sent as gifts to western rulers: Gregory of Tours, bk. IX, ch. 4, p. 240; *Liber Pontificalis*, ed. L. Duchesne, vol. 2 (Paris, 1955), pp. 147-8; A. Frolov, *La relique de la vraie croix* (Paris, 1961), no. 33, p. 179; J. Lowden, 'The luxury book as diplomatic gift', *Byzantine Diplomacy*, ed. J. Shepard and S. Franklin (Aldershot, 1992), pp. 249-60.

<sup>193</sup> Musée du Louvre, Paris, Ivoires A53, f. 237v; Dennis, 'Two unknown documents', 397-404; M.R. James and C. Jenkins, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Lambeth Palace: Medieval Manuscripts* (Cambridge, 1932), no. 78, p. 133; Marinesco, 'Du Nouveau sur les relations', 421-2; Setton, *Papacy and Levant*, vol. 1, pp. 372-5; K.M. Setton, 'St. George's head', *Speculum*, 48 (1973), 1-12, esp. 8; Barker, *Manuel II*, p. 264.

<sup>194</sup> Frolov, *La relique*, no. 872, pp. 563-5; G. Fogolari, 'La teca del Bessarione e la croce di San Teodoro in Venezia', *Dedalo*, 3 (1922-3), 138-60; J.B. Schioppalaba, *In Perantiquam Sacram Tabulam Graecam Insigni Sodalito Sanctae Mariae Caritatis Venetiarum ab Amplissimo Cardinali Bessarione Dono Datam Dissertatio* (Venice, 1767); Chatzidakis, *Icones*, pl. I, pp. 4-6, pl. 4, pp. 11-12.

<sup>195</sup> ASV Senato, Secreta reg. 22, f. 16 (orig. 14); Pius, *Commentaries*, pp. 523-5; Baronius, *Annales Ecclesiastici*, vol. 29, p. 400; C.M. Ady, *Pius II - The Humanist Pope* (London, 1913), pp. 278-9; S.P. Lambros, 'Η ἐκ Πατρῶν εἰς Ῥώμην ἀνακομιδὴ τῆς κάραυ τοῦ ἁγίου Ἀνδρέου', *NE*, 10 (1913), 33-112; R.O. Rubinstein, 'Pius II's Piazza, S. Pietro and St. Andrew's head', *Enea Silvio Piccolomini, Papa Pio II*, ed. D. Maffei (Siena, 1968), pp. 221-43.

<sup>196</sup> BAV Vat. Gr. 1208; Hill, *History of Cyprus*, vol. 3, pp. 612-13. She seems also to have brought a portion of the True Cross: Sanudo, *Diarii*, vol. 1, col. 751.

from Constantinople received a thousand florins for a portion of the True Cross, part of the robe of the Virgin, a piece of the sponge which was proffered to Christ on the cross and some of the bread used in the Last Supper<sup>197</sup>. One enterprising group managed to induce Clemente da Toscanella, a citizen of Rome, to purchase an icon of the Virgin, assuring him that it had once hung in Hagia Sophia<sup>198</sup>.

In the same way, it was common for the refugees to claim that they were related to the late emperor, Constantine XI, whose heroic death on the walls of Constantinople fighting the Turks to the last was well known in the West. Isaac Palaeologus was described as the emperor's 'cousin germain', Michael Palaeologus as 'frater consobrinus illustrissimi ducis maior Constantinopolitani'<sup>199</sup>. Alexander Asanes claimed to be both the emperor's nephew and his adopted son<sup>200</sup>. Others declared themselves to have been especially favoured servants of the emperor: John Jerarchis was his shield-bearer, George Theophilus a member of his household<sup>201</sup>.

<sup>197</sup> ASV Senato, Terra reg. 4, f. 28 (orig. 27); Iorga, *Notes et extraits*, vol. 3, pp. 326-7, vol. 4, p. 155; Frolov, *La relique*, no. 881, pp. 568-9; H. Mackowsky, 'Das Silberkreuz für den Johannisaltar im Museo di S. Maria del Fiore zu Florenz', *Jahrbuch der Königlich Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, 23 (1902), 235-46.

<sup>198</sup> A.A. Lombardi, *Cenni storici intorno la sacratissima immagine di Maria santissima sotto il titolo Virgo Virginum et Mater Omnium* (Naples, 1859), pp. 33-5 quoting a document from the Archivio Campidoglio, Rome. In 1482 Clemente gave the icon to the church of Sant'Agostino in Rome where it can still be seen. The icon of the Madonna of Perpetual Help in another Roman church, Sant'Alfonso Liguori, is alleged to have been conveyed to the West from Crete in about 1500 by a merchant who feared that the Turks might invade the island: P.E. Bresciani, *Cenni storici sull'antica e prodigiosa immagine della Madonna del Perpetuo Soccorso* (Rome, 1866), pp. 16-21.

<sup>199</sup> BL C110.e.10; STC, 14077c.117A-21A; De l'Épinois, 'Notes extraites', 498. On western accounts of Constantine's death, see: Nicol, *Immortal Emperor*, pp. 77-84.

<sup>200</sup> ASVat Reg. Vat. 491, f. 250 contains a safe-conduct which originally described him as 'clare memorie Constantini Imperatoris Constantinopolitani nepos' but these words were later erased. He is called the emperor's adopted son in ASVat Reg. Vat. 472, f. 334v, full text in Appendix I, below p. 191. It would be wrong to dismiss Asanes's imperial connection entirely, however, for the Asanes family had become linked to the Palaeologi when the Despot Demetrius married Zoe, the sister of Matthew Asanes and to the Cantacuzeni when the Emperor John VI married Irene Asanina: Papadopoulos, *Versuch einer Genealogie*, no. 187, p. 94; Setton, *Papacy and Levant*, vol. 2, p. 146; Nicol, *Byzantine Family of Kantakouzenos*, no. 23, pp. 104-8.

<sup>201</sup> BI Reg. 20, f. 167, full text in Appendix II, below p. 193; ASVat Reg. Vat. 507, ff. 101v-102 (orig. 99v-100).



So common were such claims that it is difficult to believe that they were all true. Yet the fact remains that they enhanced the degree of generosity that was forthcoming. While George Palaeologus, the 'nephew of the emperor of Constantinople', was given a gift of sixty eight livres by the king of France, his two travelling companions received only eight each<sup>202</sup>, so that there must have been a certain temptation to exaggerate.

These were some of the factors, then, which ensured that, although the attitude of the mass of the population of Western Europe was not always friendly, in many cases the refugees were well received. To conclude, it is worth pointing out those who gave alms to Byzantine refugees did not only do so in response to the behest of kings and bishops, in order to get hold of prized relics or icons or merely out of class consciousness. Disinterested charity also played its part: the council at Douai gave forty sous to one individual purely out of 'consideration de sa povreté et qu'il est de lointain pays'<sup>203</sup>.

<sup>202</sup> BN ms français 32511, f. 191.

<sup>203</sup> *Inventaire analytique des archives communales (Douai)*, p. 29.

## CHAPTER THREE

### *Occupations and Activities*

The previous chapters have established why and how Greek refugees and migrants came to Western Europe during the fifteenth century and in what areas they settled. The next three will attempt to assess their contribution to the society which they entered. Initially, it will be necessary to discuss whether this contribution was a positive or a negative one since a number of literary and archival sources of the period preserve some very uncomplimentary comments about certain individuals. Not surprisingly, these comments have influenced modern scholars, one of whom goes so far as to dismiss all the emigres as 'not a compelling advertisement for the lost glories of a great civilisation'<sup>1</sup>.

There is a great deal of evidence, much of it contained in hitherto unpublished archival documents, to ameliorate this uninspiring picture. It reveals not only that many of the emigres pursued respectable and successful careers in the West but also that they did not forget their homeland, doing much to help their less fortunate compatriots and actively pressing for a crusade to retake Constantinople.

As an alien minority, in a world in which prejudice against Greeks still existed, the emigres might well be expected to have suffered the frequent lot of immigrants; that of doing the jobs no one else wanted to do. Yet while it is true that they often turn up in the unsavoury roles of mercenary soldiers or spies<sup>2</sup>, the case appears differently when examined in more detail.

It is clear, for example, that the Greeks who were drafted into foreign armies were by no means regarded as mere cannon fodder. The Venetians valued them enough to recruit an entire regiment of light cavalry, known as the *Stradioti*, mainly from among the Greeks of their colonies and the Neapolitan armies contained a significant Greek element, though this was probably drawn primarily from the population of Southern

<sup>1</sup> Nicol, *Last Centuries*, p. 410.

<sup>2</sup> A Greek was sent to Constantinople by King Ferrante of Naples in 1481 'per aver notizie dei progressi del Turco', and Theodore Vlastopoulos was paid by Venice to gather information in the Ottoman capital in 1493: ASV Consiglio dei Dieci, Misti reg. 26, f. 29; Barone, 'Le cedole', 414; Geanakoplos, *Greek Scholars*, pp. 56-7.



Italy<sup>3</sup>. Nor was the value placed on Greek soldiers restricted to states where they lived in some numbers, as they also occasionally appear in Papal, English or Burgundian service<sup>4</sup>.

Contemporary accounts, like that of Philippe de Commines, indicate that the Venetian Stradioti, in particular, were regarded as something of an elite<sup>5</sup>. There was, therefore, no stigma attached to serving in the Republic's armies. Many who claimed distinguished lineage, like the poet Michael Marullos Tarchaniotes and the Byzantine noble Manuel Rhaoul Oises and his sons were prepared join the Stradioti, perhaps because it gave them the opportunity to hit back at the Turks<sup>6</sup>.

Apart from providing the opportunity for revenge, however, the Stradioti corps offered an important career opening and a foothold in the West for young Greeks. These could lead on to higher things as in the case of a stradiot called Angelos who ended up being sent to the court of the English king, Henry VIII, in 1514 and others who became wealthy enough to contribute to the funds of the Greek Scuola<sup>7</sup>. Veterans like the famous Theodore Palaeologus whom Pietro Bembo described as 'uomo amantissimo della Repubblica' were highly respected figures in Venice<sup>8</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> Geanakoplos, *Greek Scholars*, pp. 55-7; Lambros, 'Μετανάστευσις', no. 2, pp. 383-4, no. 7, pp. 392-4. For a contemporary list of Greeks in Venetian military service during 1460-2 see: C. Capizzi, 'Un documento inedito sulla guarnigione veneziana di Negroponte negli anni 1460-2', *Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici*, ns 12-13 (1975-6), 35-108.

<sup>4</sup> ASR MC 839, f. 200; ASR DG 1236, f. 59v; ASVat Introitus et Exitus 487, ff. 129, 139v; Nucius, *Second Book of the Travels*, p. 90. 'Georges Grec, archer de corps' served for three years under the duke of Burgundy, before being given eighty livres to enable him to return to Greece: ADN B2017, f. 225.

<sup>5</sup> Philippe de Commines, vol. 2, p. 520.

<sup>6</sup> Sathas, *Documents*, vol. 7, p. IV, n. 4; Iorga, *Notes et extraits*, vol. 5, p. 285; S. Fassoulakis, *The Byzantine Family of Rhaoul-Rhalles* (Athens, 1973), nos. 63-5, pp. 76-81.

<sup>7</sup> PRO SP1/230, f.241; LP, vol. 1, pt. 2, no. 3229, p. 1368; Pardos, 'Αλφαβητικός κατάλογος - 1. "Ανδρες", 334, 371, 374. It is interesting that Caterina, 'vedoa di stradioto', was also wealthy enough to contribute: Pardos, 'Αλφαβητικός κατάλογος - 2. Γυναίκες', 157.

<sup>8</sup> Pietro Bembo, *Della istoria viniziana* (Milan, 1809, reprint), vol. 2, p. 341; Sanudo, *Diarii*, vol. 56, cols. 877-8; M. Kolyva, 'Θεόδωρος Παλαιολόγος, αρχηγός μισθοφόρων "στρατιωτών" και διερμηνέας στην υπηρεσία της Βενετίας (c.1452-1532)', *Th*, 10 (1973), 138-62.

Contemporary documents allude to many others like him, often in the same warm terms<sup>9</sup>.

The involvement of Greeks in trade in the West in this period is another example of how successfully they were able to establish themselves there. Just as, under Turkish rule, Greeks came to play an important part in the commerce of the Ottoman Empire<sup>10</sup>, they seem to have extended their enterprise to ports all over Europe.

Some of them operated from Ragusa, dealing in commodities like wheat and flax, others from Italian ports<sup>11</sup>. A Cretan employed the Venetian 'Flanders galleys' which were dispatched every year to London and Bruges, to carry wine to England in 1396 and in 1474 Nicolas Greco exported a cargo of building stones from Pisa and ferried them to Naples where they were destined for the clock tower at Castelnuovo<sup>12</sup>.

Further afield, there was a merchant called Demetrius of Rhodes trafficking in Spanish wine at Rouen during the 1470s and Greek traders were reported in London as early as 1401<sup>13</sup>. The Customs Accounts of the Port of London confirm their presence among the visiting merchants:

<sup>9</sup> ASV Collegio, Notatorio del Collegio reg. 16, f. 95 (orig. 87) describes George Rhalles, Theodore Palaeologus, Nicolas and Constantine Palaeologus, Demetrius Megadux and John Palaeologus as 'valorosi fidelissimi capi di stratioti'. For a stradiot rewarded for courage on the battlefield see ASV Senato, Mar reg. 12, f. 53 (orig. 52); Sathas, *Documents*, vol. 7, no. LXXXV, p. 42.

<sup>10</sup> As early as 1490, the customs registers of the Turkish port of Akkerman show that of twenty ships which called there over four months, no less than fifteen were owned by Greeks: H. Inalcik, *The Ottoman Empire, 1300-1600* (London, 1973), p. 132.

<sup>11</sup> Krekić, *Dubrovnik*, no. 762, p. 289, no. 926, p. 318, no. 939, p. 320, no. 963, p. 324. They had been operating in Italy long before 1453. Two treaties mention Byzantine merchants in Venice and Genoa during the thirteenth century: C. Manfroni, 'Le relazioni fra Genova, l'Impero bizantino e i Turchi', *Atti della Società Ligure di Storia Patria*, 28 (1896), 797; Tafel and Thomas, *Urkunden*, vol. 3, no. CCCLXVIII, p. 146; A.E. Laiou-Thomadakis, 'The Greek merchant of the Palaeologan period: a collective portrait', *Πρακτικά της 'Ακαδημίας 'Αθηνών*, 57 (1982), 96-132.

<sup>12</sup> ASV Cancelleria Inferiore, Notai 169; Barone, 'Le cedole', 401; B. Krekić, 'A note on the economic activities of some Greeks in the Latin Levant towards the end of the fourteenth century', *Studi Veneziani*, 9 (1961), 187-91, esp. 191.

<sup>13</sup> ADSM 6 BP1, f. 60v. According to one chronicle, Manuel II was kept informed of events in the East while in London in 1400-1 by Greek merchants who visited the port: John Trokelowe and Henry Blanford, *Chronica et Annales*, ed. H.T. Riley, RS 28 (London, 1866), p. 336.



Manuel Sybyanos in 1438 and George of Constantinople, Demetrius 'de Larta' in 1445 and George 'Greco' in 1481<sup>14</sup>.

Some clearly did well out of their trade. In 1478 permission was sought from the Council of Ten to allow George Verna, a Constantinopolitan merchant resident in Venice, to become a member of the Scuola of San Giovanni Evangelista because of the large donation he could make. Demetrius Philamatis, whose name often appears in Venetian notarial deeds, owned a house in the city<sup>15</sup>. Others were merely supplementing their incomes. The Despot Andreas Palaeologus, always on the look out for alternative sources of revenue, owned three ships in which he exported goods to Spain, although during 1484 they were impounded by over-zealous customs officials on Majorca<sup>16</sup>. Andronicus Effomatos, the gold wire drawer, also involved himself in trade, using the Italian ships which put in at London to carry his goods in and out. In 1450 he paid £3 6/- 8d of customs duty on a consignment of daggers brought in from Flanders on a Genoese ship and he is probably also the 'Andronicus de Constantinople' who exported two shipments of cloth on Venetian galleys in August 1449<sup>17</sup>. John Torcello, a prominent exile at the papal court, also appears to have had an interest in import and export<sup>18</sup>.

Another area of opportunity was the Church. Uniate clergy were needed to serve the Greek-speaking populations of Southern Italy and the Venetian colonies, and Greeks who had remained loyal to the Union of

<sup>14</sup> PRO E122/73/12, f. 33v; E122/203/3, ff. 13, 18v; *Exchequer Customs Accounts, 1480-1*, ed. H.S. Cobb, *London Record Society*, 27 (London, 1990), no. 221, p. 76. Demetrius 'de Larta' was probably from Arta in Epiros in Northern Greece. It is interesting to speculate whether he was the same man as 'Ser Dimchus Cauvaloropolo' of Arta who was trading in Ragusa in 1439 and 1441: Krekić, *Dubrovnik*, no. 939, p. 320, no. 963, p. 324.

<sup>15</sup> ASV Consiglio dei Dieci, Misti reg. 19, f. 133v (orig. 93v), *Cancellaria Inferiore*, Notai 82; Moschonas, 'Greci', no. IV, pp. 128-9.

<sup>16</sup> They were later released on the intervention of King Ferdinand of Aragon: *Documentos sobre relaciones*, vol. 2, nos. 60-2, pp. 58-60, no. 138, p. 124.

<sup>17</sup> PRO E122/73/25, f. 16v; E122/73/23, ff. 33, 36. The Effomatos brothers seem to have had wide commercial interests. This could have its negative side, however. The barrel of green ginger imported by Andronicus in 1445 seems to have led to a dispute with an Englishman, Nicolas Peny, who claimed that the Greek had sold it to him containing short measure: PRO E122/203/3, f. 14v; C1/19/42. On the Effomatos brothers, see above p. 34ff and below 181ff.

<sup>18</sup> ASVat Reg. Vat. 367, ff. 154-154v; Iorga, *Notes et Extraits*, vol. 2, p. 397. On Torcello see below p. 101ff.

Florence were in high favour with the Popes<sup>19</sup>. Thus Athanasius Chalceopoulos of Constantinople rose to become bishop of Gerace and the Moreot Alexius Zelodanos obtained the see of Gallipoli near Otranto<sup>20</sup>. The Byzantines, Philip Chalceopoulos and Metrophanes of Constantinople, were both given positions in Basilian monasteries in Calabria and John Plousiadenos of Crete held the see of Methone from 1492 until his death in the Turkish sack of the town in 1500<sup>21</sup>. Earlier in the century the Cretan orphan, Peter Philarges, had achieved the supreme office when he was elected as Pope Alexander V<sup>22</sup>.

Others were able, through patronage, to secure an income by holding titular ecclesiastical office. Isaac Argyropoulos was presented with the rectorships of San Salvatore in Pesoli and San Giovanni della Pigna in Rome by the Pope and Theodore Gaza obtained a benefice in Southern Italy through the intercession of Cardinal Bessarion<sup>23</sup>.

These cases demonstrate the extent to which emigre Greeks could integrate themselves successfully into the western church. Two further examples, however, might be thought to detract from this picture, one involving a Greek whose non-residence was the cause of a Papal inquiry into an English parish and the other an Athenian bishop of an Irish see

<sup>19</sup> The Union of Florence which had greatly enhanced Papal prestige and strengthened its hand against the Conciliar Movement but it had been rendered null and void by the fall of Constantinople: L. Pastor, *History of the Popes*, trans. F.I. Antrobus, vol. 1 (Nedeln, 1969, reprint), pp. 316-17; Gill, *Council of Florence*, p. 388; G. Hofmann, 'Papst Kalixt III und die Frage der Kirchenheit im Osten', *Miscellanea G. Mercati*, vol. 3, *Studi e Testi*, 123 (Vatican City, 1946), pp. 209-37; G. Hofmann, 'Papst Pius II und die Kirchenheit des Ostens', *OCP*, 14 (1946), 217-37.

<sup>20</sup> Eubel, vol. 2, pp. 157-9, vol. 3, p. 241; M.H. Laurent and A. Guillou, *Le Liber Visitationis d'Athanasie Chalkéopoulos (1457-8)*, *Studi e testi*, 206 (Vatican City, 1960), pp. 20ff; B. Ravenna, *Memorie storiche della città di Gallipoli* (Naples, 1836), pp. 450-5.

<sup>21</sup> ASVat. Reg. Lat. 872, ff. 79-80v (orig. 80-81v); Reg. Suppl. 482, f. 253; F. Russo, *Registro Vaticano per la Calabria*, vol. 2 (Rome, 1975), no. 11399, p. 345, vol. 3 (Rome, 1977), no. 13264, p. 33. On Plousiadenos see: M.I. Manousakas, 'Recherches sur la vie de Jean Plousiadenos', *REB*, 17 (1959), 28-51.

<sup>22</sup> M.I. Renieris, 'Ιστορικαὶ μελέται - ὁ ἑλλην πάπας 'Αλέξανδρος Ε', τὸ Βυζάντιον καὶ ἡ ἐν Βασιλεῖα συνοδος (Athens, 1881); Setton, 'Byzantine Background', 58-9.

<sup>23</sup> ASVat Reg. Vat. 565, ff. 8v-10v; Russo, *Registro Vaticano*, vol. 2, no. 12201, p. 425, no. 12223, p. 427. Lee, *Sixtus IV*, pp. 172-4. For thirteenth century examples of Greeks holding western benefices see Thomas Walsingham, *Gesta Abbatum Monasterii Sancti Albani*, ed. H.T. Riley, *RS* 28, vol. 1 (London, 1867), p. 440; *CPL*, vol. 2, pp. 156, 159.



who was clearly loathed by his flock. A closer examination reveals, in fact, that these instances give further weight to the view that Greeks were able to create a strong position for themselves in the West.

In March 1452 a Papal mandate was dispatched to the bishops of Ely and Bangor and to the abbot of Bury St. Edmund's, instructing them to investigate the rectory of Brightwell in Berkshire. The benefice had been the subject of an appeal to the Holy See by William Darset who claimed that it was legally his on account of the absence of the previous incumbent:

Thomas Frank, a physician and, as is believed, a Greek, obtained by the authority of the ordinary, without having himself promoted to Holy Orders, the parish church of Brightwell in the diocese of Salisbury and detained it for ten years under the pretext of certain Papal dispensations and, after appointing a proctor, took the fruits etc. Whence scandals arose in the said church and its neighbourhood<sup>24</sup>.

There seem to be two charges here. First that Thomas obtained the church under false pretences even though he was not ordained and then that he allowed it to go to rack and ruin while extorting its revenues. Neither was entirely justified.

How had Thomas Frank obtained the rectory of Brightwell in the first place? It seems clear that he is the same man as the physician, Thomas Frank who had obtained denizenship in 1436 and who had been living in the Broadstreet ward of London in 1443<sup>25</sup> and it is certain that, to have obtained a benefice, he must, like Isaac Argyropoulos, Theodore Gaza and Nicolas Grecus, have had an influential patron. This was Henry Beaufort, cardinal bishop of Winchester.

Beaufort first appears in connection with Thomas Frank as a member of the Royal council which heard the Greek physician's plea for denizenship in 1436<sup>26</sup>. The parish of Brightwell lay in Beaufort's gift because, although it was situated in the diocese of Salisbury, the advowson or right to appoint the rector had belonged to the bishops of

<sup>24</sup> ASVat Reg. Vat. 398, ff. 164v-166; Magdalen College, Oxford M42. Summary and partial translation in *CPL*, vol. 10, pp. 110-11.

<sup>25</sup> PRO C66/439, membrane 9; *CPR* (1429-36), p. 604; PRO E179/144/50, f. 10; E179/144/52, f. 9; E179/144/53, f. 15. See above p. 35.

<sup>26</sup> PRO E28/57/112; *Foedera*, vol. 5, pt. I, p. 33 (= X, 650).

Winchester since the late thirteenth century<sup>27</sup>. Beaufort had already conferred it on a succession of his nominees, including another foreign doctor, the Portuguese Peter de Altobasso, who had held it until 1427<sup>28</sup>. When it fell vacant again at the beginning of 1440 Beaufort presented Thomas Frank to the bishop of Salisbury as the next incumbent and he was duly installed at Reading on 19 January of that year<sup>29</sup>.

Thus Thomas had obtained the parish perfectly legally by being presented to it by its patron. Moreover, Beaufort shortly afterwards took steps to regularise its tenure by a man who was not in Holy Orders, obtaining permission from the Pope, Eugenius IV, for Thomas to wait for two years from August 1440 before he presented himself for ordination. In January 1442 this concession was extended to cover the duration of the physician's service with Cardinal Beaufort<sup>30</sup>. The Papal dispensations mentioned in the mandate of Eugenius's successor, Nicolas V, were, therefore, perfectly genuine and gave Thomas the right to hold the church without having himself promoted to Holy Orders.

Turning to the second charge, that Thomas neglected the church while taking its revenues, it is only fair to say that he was no worse than his predecessors in this respect. It was very common for lucrative benefices to be granted to faithful servants who would then draw its revenues but delegate the cure of souls to a proctor. John de la Bere who was appointed to Brightwell in 1427 evidently fell into this category, for he appointed William Felis as his proctor. Thomas Frank likewise delegated his duties to Richard Rhecaworth<sup>31</sup>. Both would then have been free to enjoy the income of the parish, which seems to have been a relatively wealthy one<sup>32</sup>.

Taking these points into account it would seem that Thomas was not guilty of any irregularities with regard to Brightwell. What he had

<sup>27</sup> *Calendar of the Charter Rolls, (1257-1300)*, (London, 1906), p. 274; *Victoria County History: Berkshire*, vol. 3 (London, 1923), pp. 464-71. Talbot and Hammond, pp. 343-4 confuse this parish with that of Brightwell in Suffolk.

<sup>28</sup> WRO Register of Robert Nevill (1427-38), 1st series, f. 7 (orig. 1-1v). On Peter de Altobasso see: *Issues of the Exchequer from Henry III*, p. 355; Talbot and Hammond, pp. 246-7.

<sup>29</sup> WRO Register of William Aiscough (1438-50), f. 20.

<sup>30</sup> *CPL*, vol. 9, pp. 112, 186.

<sup>31</sup> WRO Register of Robert Nevill (1427-38), 1st series, f. 7 (orig. ff. 1-1v); Register of William Aiscough (1438-50), f. 20.

<sup>32</sup> It was assessed for twenty five marks for the clerical subsidy of 1449-52, higher than most of the churches in the area: PRO E179/52/207.



done, however, was voluntarily give up the parish and leave the country, as emerges from the later passages of the papal mandate of 1452:

On account of the non-residence of the said Thomas, divine worship is much diminished in the said church ... its chancel and other buildings pertaining to the rector have become very ruinous and ... the cure of souls was not exercised ... the said proctor dying and the said Thomas being, as is believed, beyond the sea and there being no certain knowledge of the place where he was residing ...<sup>33</sup>.

Thomas's departure from England actually represents a further step in his extremely successful career. Cardinal Beaufort died on 11 April 1447, so that Thomas would have been robbed of his patron and it is significant that the last evidence for his being in England comes from that same month, April 1447, when he stood as executor for Giovanni Belevider<sup>34</sup>. By 1451, however, he had found himself a new employer, receiving a monthly salary of twenty livres as physician to Charles VII, king of France<sup>35</sup>. Indeed he may well have arrived in France some time before that for a letter of Charles VII from March 1451/2, granting him the right to inherit and to make a will, speaks of the 'longue espace de temps il ait eu ses residences et domicile en nostre royaume'<sup>36</sup>.

There would have been no untoward consequences of Thomas's disappearance, had not the parish of Brightwell become a bone of contention between two ambitious prelates. His absence was noticed and in February 1451 Beaufort's successor at Winchester, William Waynflete

<sup>33</sup> ASVat Reg. Vat. 398, ff. 164v-166; Magdalen College, Oxford M42; CPL, vol. 10, pp. 110-11.

<sup>34</sup> GL ms 9171/4, f. 210.

<sup>35</sup> BN ms français 32511, f. 141: 'M. Thomas Franc, du pays de Gras, nouvellement retenu médecin du Roy'.

<sup>36</sup> AN JJ181, no. XLV, f. 24v; E.T. Hamy, 'Thomas de Coron, dit le Franc', *Bulletin de la Société Française d'Histoire de la Médecine*, 7 (1908), 193-205, esp. 200-1. The document is dated 'le dix-neufiesme jour du mois de mars, l'an de grace mil CCCC cinquante ung, et de nostre regne le XXXe' and therefore seems to belong to 1452 rather than 1451, since Charles acceded in 1422. It may have been in 1450 that Thomas departed for France. A copy of his 1436 letter of denization in the Patent Rolls is endorsed by the words 'Vac. quod alias in anno XIII', implying that the concession had lapsed because Thomas had left the country fourteen years after the original grant: PRO C66/440, membrane 25; CPR (1436-41), p. 45.

presented a new rector, William Darset, to the bishop of Salisbury<sup>37</sup>. There would have been an end of the matter, had not the new man at Salisbury, Richard Beauchamp, refused to install Darset on the grounds that the previous incumbent was still alive, prompting Waynflete and Darset to appeal to the Court of Canterbury and the Holy See<sup>38</sup>. It would seem that what was at issue here was not who was entitled to the parish but to whom the presentation belonged and that Beauchamp was hoping to usurp it. This is certainly implied by the fact that when the subsequent enquiry found in favour of Winchester, Waynflete secured a declaration from the bishop of London officially confirming his patronage of the church while as late as 1455 Beauchamp was appointing a commission under Thomas Yon, archdeacon of Salop, to inquire into the whole matter<sup>39</sup>. All this, however, did not affect Thomas Frank, who had left England long before.

Thomas Frank's tenure of Brightwell and his subsequent abandonment of it are, therefore, more indicative of his success in obtaining patronage in the West than anything else. His case is not an isolated one. Another Greek in ecclesiastical office in the West appears to have aroused the ire of contemporaries. The death of George Branas, bishop of Dromore (1483-99) and later bishop of Elphin was greeted by Irish chroniclers with the verdict that humanity had suffered no loss<sup>40</sup>. It is not clear what prompted such bitterness but at least one modern writer has concluded that George had little interest either in his see or in his flock and that he soon went 'off to England and spent the next few years in seeking for a diocese which might suit him better'<sup>41</sup>.

George Branas had been in Rome at the time of his appointment by Pope Sixtus IV as bishop of Dromore in the north of Ireland on 18 April 1483<sup>42</sup>. He was consecrated in a chapel of the church of San

<sup>37</sup> HRO A/1/13, pt. 1, ff. 34v-35; CPL, vol. 10, p. 111.

<sup>38</sup> HRO A/1/13, pt. 1, ff. 11\*-12\*: '... absque cause rationabili seu hac quacunque nulla juris auctoritate fultus admittere et rectorem in eadem ecclesiam vacantem instituere recusavit et recusat'. The Papal mandate makes Beauchamp's excuse for not instituting Darset clear, however: CPL, vol. 10, pp. 110-11.

<sup>39</sup> HRO A/1/13, pt. 1, f. 59; WRO Register of Richard Beauchamp (1450-81), vol. 1, 2nd series, ff. 42-42v.

<sup>40</sup> *The Annals of Connacht*, ed. A.M. Freeman (Dublin, 1944), p. 675: '...the Greek bishop died; and the death of the Greek bishop is no blemish to humanity'. This was not the only chronicle to make the comment: McRoberts, 'Greek bishop', 29.

<sup>41</sup> A. Gwynn, *The Medieval Province of Armagh* (Dundalk, 1946), pp. 21-2.

<sup>42</sup> ASVat Reg. Lat. 827, ff. 273-275; Oblig. et Solut. 83, f. 111v (orig. 84v); CPL, vol. 13, p. 826; Eubel, vol. 2, p. 146.



Lorenzo in Damaso and since he was only in minor orders, he was quickly ushered through the stages of subdeacon, deacon and priest, finally being instituted as bishop on 4 May<sup>43</sup>.

None of the Roman documents concerning his appointment mention his nationality but a patent letter from the English crown, apparently dating from the time of his arrival in the British Isles and conceding him the protection of English laws, describes him as 'de nacione Grecorum'<sup>44</sup> and his name, although often written in western documents as 'Braua' or 'Brana', was clearly the common Byzantine one of Branas<sup>45</sup>. Any doubt about the matter is removed by a document dated 1485 in which Branas grandiloquently subscribed himself 'Georgius Brana, quondam dominus Athenarum, nunc autem Episcopus Dromorensis ...'<sup>46</sup>.

To return to the charge that George Branas spent most of his time away from his see once he had been appointed, it would seem that he did spend some time in Dromore during the late 1480s. In August 1487 the archbishop of Armagh, Ottaviano Spinelli, instructed him and Donald O'Fallon, bishop-elect of Derry to hold a visitation of the diocese and he was also among the prelates at the fourth provincial council held at Drogheda on 6 July 1489<sup>47</sup>. Thereafter, however, he appears not to have resided in his see. He was absent from the provincial councils held in 1492 and 1495 and Papal letters sent to Dromore during 1492 and after

<sup>43</sup> ASVat Formatori 7, f. 89v; W. Maziere Brady, *The Episcopal Succession in England, Scotland and Ireland, A.D. 1400-1875*, vol. 1 (Rome, 1876), pp. XXV-VI. The new bishop paid some thirty florins in service taxes: ASR Camerale I, Quietanze 1131, f. 149 (orig. 136); Brady, *Episcopal Succession*, vol. 1, p. 298.

<sup>44</sup> *Rotulorum Patentorum et Clausorum Cancellariae Hiberniae Calendrium* (London, 1827), p. 270.

<sup>45</sup> Pronounced 'Vranas' by the fifteenth century and common in the Morea: *Documents sur le régime des terres dans la principauté de Morée au XIVe siècle*, ed. J. Longnon and P. Topping (La Haye, 1969), p. 47, line 7, p. 121, line 11, p. 230.

<sup>46</sup> *Registrum Nigrum de Aberbrothoc, 1329-1536, Bannatyne Club*, 86 (Edinburgh, 1856), no. 267, pp. 226-7. He was also, according to the Papal letter appointing him to Dromore, a canon of the Augustinian House of All Saints Without-the-Walls, Dublin: *CPL*, vol. 13, p. 826.

<sup>47</sup> From the episcopal register of Ottaviano Spinelli, now in the Public Record Office of Northern Ireland, cited by Gwynn, *Medieval Province*, p. 145. See also John Lynch, *De Praesulibus Hiberniae*, ed. J.F. Doherty (Dublin, 1944), vol. 1, p. 121.

were invariably addressed to the archdeacon and made no mention the bishop at all<sup>48</sup>.

There was nothing unusual about this absence by the standards of the time. During the same period the Diocese of Worcester was provided with a series of Italian bishops who seldom set foot in England, let alone in their see. Their function was to represent the king of England at the Papal Curia and the bishopric merely served to furnish them with the recompense for their labours<sup>49</sup>. Branas's absence from his see was likewise in part necessitated by other tasks that he had to do elsewhere.

Like many other Irish bishops, George Branas would not have received adequate revenues from his see to support himself and so was forced to supplement his income by doing jobs for holders of more lucrative appointments. Thus in August 1485 he was to be found at Arbroath in Scotland, consecrating a number of altars and ecclesiastical buildings in the town on behalf of the archbishop of St. Andrews<sup>50</sup>. From February to May 1497 he was in London where he performed several ordinations for the bishop, both in St. Paul's and in the episcopal palace at Westminster<sup>51</sup>. The following year found him in Worcester, carrying out similar services on behalf of the absentee bishop, Giovanni de' Gigli<sup>52</sup>.

There was, however, another reason for Branas's absence from his see which went back to the time of his appointment to Dromore in Rome by Sixtus IV in 1483 and was connected with one of the favourite

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*; *CPL*, vol. 14, p. 297, vol. 15, nos. 550, 830, 838, 854, pp. 280, 434, 439-40, 451-2.

<sup>49</sup> M. Creighton, 'The Italian bishops of Worcester', *Associated Architectural Societies Reports and Papers*, 20 (1889-90), 94-118.

<sup>50</sup> *Registrum Nigrum de Aberbrothoc*, no. 267, pp. 226-7. There exists another manuscript version of these consecrations which gives the year as 1484 rather than 1485: *Transactions of the Aberdeen Ecclesiological Society*, 4 (1897-1905), 6-9.

<sup>51</sup> GL ms 9531/8, 3rd series, ff. 1v-3v.

<sup>52</sup> Hereford and Worcester Record Office, Worcester, 716.093 (BA 2648/7 iii), ff. 25-26. The episcopal register gives the date for the first ordination as 14 April 1497 but this is clearly an error since it is also stated that the bishop at the time was 'Dominus Johannes de Gyglis Dei gratia Wigornensis episcopus'. Gigli was not appointed to Worcester until August 1497: Hereford and Worcester Record Office, 716.093 (BA 2648/7 iii), f. 4; Eubel, vol. 2, p. 268. It is therefore likely that the date given for the second set of ordinations, 14 April 1498, is correct for both ceremonies and therefore it would be wrong to conclude that Branas was in both London and Worcester in 1497: McRoberts, 'Greek bishop', p. 27.



charitable institutions of his benefactor, the hospital of Santo Spirito in Sassia.

Founded by Pope Innocent III in 1201, on what had once been the quarter of Rome inhabited by Anglo-Saxon pilgrims, the hospital's task was to tend the sick and care for foundlings under the rule of the Knights Hospitaller of the Holy Spirit. At the same time Innocent had established a confraternity, comprised of lay people who were prepared to make a financial contribution to these charitable works<sup>53</sup>. Branches of the hospital were established throughout Europe, including one in England at Writtle near Chelmsford and the confraternity proved very popular, attracting a multi-national membership<sup>54</sup>.

Both hospital and confraternity benefitted from the election of Sixtus as Pope in 1471. He had the hospital buildings entirely renovated during his pontificate, commissioning the magnificent Sala Sistina which was decorated throughout with frescoes<sup>55</sup>. Sixtus's enthusiasm for Santo Spirito extended to the confraternity and the man he chose to recruit new members in Ireland was George Branas. On 22 June 1483 he appointed him 'Vicar Commissary and Factor with the power of receiving members of the Confraternity of the Holy Spirit in Ireland and of inscribing them in a certain book ...'<sup>56</sup>.

It may not have been entirely fortuitous that a Greek emigre should be chosen to extend the membership of Sixtus's favourite foundation, for several of the Byzantine exiles in Rome had previously been connected with the hospital. Cardinal Bessarion and Charlotte, queen of Cyprus, had both been members of the confraternity and the Despot Thomas Palaeologus had been given a lodging in the hospital by Pius II

<sup>53</sup> On the hospital, which still functions, see: P. de Angelis, *L'Ospedale di Santo Spirito in Saxia* (Rome, 1960-2), 2 vols; I. Origo, 'The Hospital of the Holy Spirit', *History Today*, 9 (1959), 252-61.

<sup>54</sup> The hospital at Writtle was dissolved in 1391: *Victoria County History: Essex, vol. 2* (London, 1907), pp. 200-1; P. de Angelis, *L'Ospedale di Santo Spirito in Saxia e le sue filiali nel mondo* (Rome, 1958). Fifteenth century members of the confraternity included Ludovico Gonzaga, marquis of Mantua, Cardinals Trevisan and Coetivy and Henry VII of England, along with his wife and mother: *Liber Fraternitatis di Santo Spirito in Sassia, Necrologi e libri affini della provincia romana*, ed. P. Egidi, vol. 2, *Fonti per la Storia d'Italia*, 45 (Rome, 1914), pp. 114-15, 119, 141.

<sup>55</sup> Lee, *Sixtus IV*, pp. 137-42.

<sup>56</sup> ASVat Reg. Lat. 948, ff. 55v-56v; *CPL*, vol. 16, no. 202, pp. 147-8.

after fleeing the Morea in 1461. Two of Thomas's children, Andreas and Zoe, feature in the frescoes in the Sala Sistina<sup>57</sup>.

Whatever the background to Branas's connection with Santo Spirito, he was very active in his role as Vicar Commissary during his period as bishop of Dromore. The Irishmen, James Comford and Raymond Ginte of Waterford diocese and John of Limerick were enrolled in the Confraternity in 1493 and 1494, presumably by Branas<sup>58</sup> and it is probable that the task of finding new members would have involved the Greek bishop in a great deal of travelling away from his see. Moreover, Branas's original commission from Sixtus concerned more than merely extending the Confraternity. At his supplication the Pope had granted Branas a licence to build a hospital and church in Ireland, dependent on the mother house in Rome. He was to have the power to issue indulgences to raise the necessary funds for the construction of the hospital<sup>59</sup>.

The new hospital had not yet come into existence by 1493, ten years after his appointment to Dromore, however, and on 19 July of that year, Pope Alexander VI renewed Sixtus's commission at the request of the bishop of Dromore<sup>60</sup>. Thereafter Branas apparently took measures to raise contributions, issuing indulgences which were confirmed by the archbishop of Armagh in May 1494<sup>61</sup>.

The project was ultimately successful and the Irish hospital was finally constructed at Trim, near Dublin. Information on this foundation is very sparse, however, and its existence is only known at all from a document from the following century. When, after the English Reformation, the Master of Santo Spirito was making efforts to retrieve

<sup>57</sup> Pius, *Commentaries*, pp. 377-8; *Liber Fraternitatis di S. Spirito*, pp. 113, 143; Forcella, *Iscrizioni*, vol. 6, no. 1286, p. 416; *LPP*, vol. 4, p. 307; P. de Angelis, *L'architetto e gli affreschi di Santo Spirito in Sassia* (Rome, 1961), pp. 265-6.

<sup>58</sup> *Liber Fraternitatis di S. Spirito*, p. 314.

<sup>59</sup> ASVat Reg. Lat. 948, ff. 55v-56v; *CPL*, vol. 16, no. 202, pp. 147-8.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>61</sup> Gwynn, *Medieval Province*, p. 145 summarising f. 147 of the episcopal register of Ottaviano Spinelli. It is likely that these were the indulgences on behalf of the projected hospital seen by the seventeenth century antiquary, Sir James Ware. Ware claimed that they were affixed with a seal inscribed with the words 'Sig. Georgii Branni Vicarii Generalis S. Spiritus': J. Ware, *De Praesulibus Hiberniae Commentarius a Prima Gentis Hibernicae ad Fidem Christianam Conversione ad Nostra usque Tempora* (Dublin, 1665), p. 93; Lynch, *De Praesulibus*, vol. 1, p. 266. For other indulgences issued on behalf of the Roman hospital see: *STC* 14077c.91-14077c.99 and 14077c.43.



the confraternity's confiscated property in England and Ireland, he listed among it the hospital and house at Trim, County Meath, founded on the orders of Sixtus IV by George Branas, bishop of Dromore<sup>62</sup>. It is possible that one of these buildings was that known in Trim as 'the Greek church' in the early seventeenth century, the site of which was still visible in the 1880s. It is not inconceivable that the local people should originally have labelled it as 'the Greek's church' after its founder who was, after all, known to the Irish as *espoc gregag*, the Greek bishop<sup>63</sup>. The site has, however, long since been built over so that it is unlikely that it will ever be known whether this was really the site of the Irish hospital of the Holy Spirit<sup>64</sup>.

It would seem then that as bishop of Dromore, George Branas was an active prelate who ultimately fulfilled the task set him by the Pope and it is difficult to see why the chroniclers should have been so antagonistic towards him. Perhaps this attitude grew up in Branas's later years after his translation to Elphin in 1499<sup>65</sup>. He seems thereafter to have taken no further part in Irish affairs. He resided in Edinburgh and when any business concerning his see arose, like the synod held at Galway by the archbishop of Tuam in 1523, he sent a proctor in his stead<sup>66</sup>. Advanced age must have accounted for much of his inactivity, however, for by the time of his death in late 1529, he must have been a very old man<sup>67</sup>.

<sup>62</sup> De Angelis, *L'Ospedale di Santo Spirito in Saxia e le sue filiali nel mondo*, p. 221, doc. 5, pp. 245-6 citing refs. 'Liber Expeditionum a.1588-1591, 111v' and 'Seg. Arch. ms n.126'.

<sup>63</sup> *Annals of Connacht*, p. 675.

<sup>64</sup> J. Usher, *Veterum Epistolarum Hibernicarum Sylloge* (Dublin, 1632), p. 132; E. Evans, *Trim: Its Ecclesiastical Ruins, its Castle etc.* (Dublin, 1886), pp. 10-11.

<sup>65</sup> ASVat Acta Camerarii 1, f. 95v (orig. 73v); ASVat Oblig. Communes 12, f. 32v; CPL, vol. 17, pt.1, nos. 591-3, pp. 378-80; Brady, *Episcopal Succession*, vol. 2, p. 197.

<sup>66</sup> Lynch, *De Praesulibus*, vol. 2, p. 230. In 1527 the 'Episcopo Alphanensis, dict. le Bishop of Gres' acquired a property in Edinburgh from Margaret Brewhouse: *The Protocol Book of John Foular*, vols. 2 and 3, ed. M. Wood, *Scottish Record Society*, 75 (Edinburgh, 1953), no. 801, p. 235.

<sup>67</sup> The deceased bishop of Elphin's property was granted by the king of Scotland to Evangelist Passer on 27 December 1529: *Registrum Magni Sigilli Regum Scotorum* (1424-1513), (Edinburgh, 1883), no. 872, p. 191, no. 1300, p. 284. The chronicles, however, give 1530 as the year of his death: *Annals of Connacht*, p. 675; Lynch, *De Praesulibus*, p. 289; McRoberts, 'Greek bishop', 30-2.

Yet if his last years were unproductive, George Branas's career, like that of Thomas Frank, demonstrates the remarkable extent to which Greek exiles could make their way in the society of the West. On the other hand, their achievement and that of others like them raises the question of whether these were selfish escapees who had abandoned their kin and country in search of a better life abroad. In Branas's case this may well have been so.

One clue as to his early movements is given by an indulgence issued by Sixtus IV in Rome on 10 July 1477 on behalf of George 'Branas' of Athens, to enable him to raise the ransoms of his wife, two sons and five other people<sup>68</sup>. The closeness of this indulgence in date to Branas's appointment to Dromore in 1483, as well as the coincidence of name and place of origin make it very likely that this is the same man as the bishop. Yet, as no more is heard of the fate of the family he was supposed to have been ransoming, it is possible that George acted like the character in George Eliot's *Romola*, Tito Melema, who arrives in Florence with the intention of raising the ransom of his adoptive father and then stays on, lured by tantalising career prospects, forgetting about his original mission.

Understandably, those who went to the West were often seen in this light by those who remained behind. Manuel II implied it when he urged Demetrius Cydones to return to Constantinople from Italy in 1396 and the defection of the Greek bishops Bessarion and Isidore to the Roman church and their subsequent residence in Rome gave rise to dark mutterings in Orthodox circles that they had 'sold the faith for gold'<sup>69</sup>.

To take the case of Bessarion and Isidore, it is certainly true that they profited very greatly by their change of religion and country. Both men had first come to Italy in the retinue which had accompanied John VIII Palaeologus to the Council of Florence in 1438, Isidore as Orthodox Metropolitan of Kiev<sup>70</sup> and Bessarion as Metropolitan of Nicaea. They had both been prominent supporters of the Union among the Byzantine clergy and it had been Bessarion who had received the honour of reading

<sup>68</sup> ASVat Reg. Lat. 777, f. 40; Mercati, 'Documenti pontifici', doc. XIV, 128-9.

<sup>69</sup> Manuel II, *Letters*, no. 30, p. 76, no. 62, p. 172; *Nikonian Chronicle*, vol. 5, pp. 62-7.

<sup>70</sup> On Isidore see Eubel, vol. 2, p. 8; G. Hofmann, 'Quellen zu Isidor von Kiev als Kardinal und Patriarch', *OCP*, 18 (1952), 143-57; G. Mercati, *Scritti d'Isidoro, il cardinale Ruteno, Studi e Testi*, 46 (Rome, 1926); Setton, *Papacy and Levant*, vol. 2, p. 3, n. 4; A.W. Ziegler, 'Isidore de Kiev, apôtre de l'Union florentine', *Irenikon*, 13 (1936), 393-410.



out the decretal of union in Greek in the cathedral of Florence on 6 July 1439<sup>71</sup>. By the mid-1440s they had abandoned Kiev and Constantinople where opposition to the Union of Florence was intense, and were living permanently in Rome where Pope Eugenius and his successors showered them with favours. Isidore received a pension, a cardinal's hat, a house on the Via Lata, the bishopric of Sabina and ultimately the titular Latin patriarchate of Constantinople with its considerable revenues<sup>72</sup>. Bessarion was given the cardinal priesthood of the church of Santi Apostoli and in 1449 the bishoprics of Sabina and Tusculum. In 1463 he succeeded Isidore as archbishop of Negroponte and titular Latin patriarch of Constantinople and he was even considered for the papacy on two occasions<sup>73</sup>.

Yet although the Greek cardinals benefitted from their defection, it is to their credit that they used the personal wealth and influence acquired in this way to assist their fellow Byzantines in exile. Bessarion is said to have paid the ransoms of many of those taken prisoner in 1453<sup>74</sup>. Among those whom he may have helped in this way were Michael Apostolis whom he later established on Crete with a pension, George Amiroutzes who had written to Bessarion asking for financial assistance in ransoming his son, and Thomas Eparchos, George Diplovatatzes and Demetrius Caleba whom he provided with letters of

<sup>71</sup> On Bessarion's early years see R-J. Loenertz, 'Pour la biographie du Cardinal Bessarion', *OCP*, 10 (1944), 116-49. In general: H. Vast, *Le Cardinal Bessarion* (Paris, 1878); H. Mohler, *Kardinal Bessarion als Theologe, Humanist und Staatsmann* (Paderborn, 1923-42), 3 vols.; L. Bréhier, 'Bessarion', *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques*, ed. I. Baudrillet, vol. 8 (Paris, 1935), cols. 1181-99; R-J. Loenertz, 'Bessarione', *Enciclopedia Cattolica*, vol. 2 (Vatican City, 1949), cols. 1492-8. On his role at Florence: E. Candal, 'Bessarion Nicaenus in Concilio Florentino', *OCP*, 6 (1940), 417-66.

<sup>72</sup> ASVat Reg. Vat. 398, ff. 56-56v; ASR MC 834, ff. 56v-131v; ASVat Reg. Vat. 439, ff. 140-141; Iorga, *Notes et extraits*, vol. 2, p. 461; Setton, *Papacy and Levant*, vol. 2, p. 3, n. 4. Isidore was Papal legate in Constantinople in 1453 and he narrowly escaped being captured on 29 May when the city fell: Chalcocondyles, bk. VIII, p. 399; *Historia Miscella Bononiensis*, col. 701-2; Iorga, *Notes et extraits*, vol. 2, pp. 518-20; Runciman, *Fall*, p. 150.

<sup>73</sup> Eubel, vol. 2, p. 135; Pius, *Commentaries*, pp. 75-6; Setton, *Papacy and Levant*, vol. 2, p. 162, n. 6, pp. 312-13, n. 166.

<sup>74</sup> Baptista Platina, *Panegyricus in Laudem Amplissimi Patris Domini Bessarionis*, PG 161, col. CXV: 'Miseratus Graecorum calamitatem, multa nummum milla aureorum pro redimendis captivis expendit'.

recommendation<sup>75</sup>. Isidore was entrusted by Calixtus III with a sum of money to distribute among destitute refugees in early 1456 and he used his influence to commend two others to the marquis of Mantua a few years later<sup>76</sup>.

Apart from paying ransoms, the Greek cardinals were also responsible for numerous acts of disinterested kindness on behalf of Greeks living in Italy. Bessarion provided a dowry for the daughter of a recently deceased Byzantine exile and paid for the education of Janus Lascaris, the future scholar<sup>77</sup>. Isidore used his influence to try and persuade the government of Venice to make a church available for the Greek community there<sup>78</sup>.

There were others who, although less wealthy and influential, were involved in the effort to help destitute refugees. Gregory Melissenos, the unionist patriarch of Constantinople, who had fled to Rome from anti-unionist agitation in his native city in 1450<sup>79</sup>, was also entrusted with money by the Pope to distribute among the refugees<sup>80</sup>.

Another was John Torcello who, between 1455 and 1458, acted as tutor to Calixtus Ottomanus or 'Il Turchetto', a member of the Ottoman ruling house who was sheltered by the papacy with a view to fomenting

<sup>75</sup> BI reg. 20, ff. 167v-168, full text in Appendix II, below p. 193ff.; George Amiroutzes, *Epistola ad Bessarionem*, PG 161, cols. 723-8; Iorga, *Notes et extraits*, vol. 4, no. LXXXVI, p. 158. There is no specific evidence for Bessarion's having ransomed Apostolis but his later close association with the cardinal makes it very likely: Apostolis, *Lettres*, no. LXI, pp. 79-81; Geanakoplos, *Greek Scholars*, pp. 81-5, 89-90.

<sup>76</sup> ASR MC 832, f. 69v; Pierling, *La Russie*, vol. 1, pp. 99-100 citing reference Archivio di Stato di Mantua, Archivio Gonzaga 841.

<sup>77</sup> ASVat Armario 34, vol. 6, ff. 68v-69v; Comnenus-Papadopoulos, *Historia Gymnasii*, vol. 2, p. 187; B. Knös, *Un ambassadeur de l'hellénisme - Janus Lascaris* (Stockholm and Paris, 1945).

<sup>78</sup> Iorga, *Notes et extraits*, vol. 4, pp. 129-30. For an indulgence granted by Isidore on the petition of a Byzantine exile see: A. Pergamo, *Regesto delle pergamenie di San Mauro Cilento, Perito e Ostigliano* (Salerno, 1966), p. 26.

<sup>79</sup> ASV Senato, Mar reg. 4, f. 15; ASR MC 834, ff. 23, 40, 48v, 56v; Iorga, *Notes et extraits*, vol. 1 = ROL, 8 (1900-1), 70, vol. 2, p. 29; Gill, *Council of Florence*, p. 376; V. Laurent, 'Le vrai surnom du patriarche de Constantinople, Grégoire III', *REB*, 14 (1956), 201-5. On the date of his death in 1459 see G. Mercati, 'Appunti scholariani', *Bessarione*, 36 (1920), 142.

<sup>80</sup> ASR MC 832, f. 4v.



dynastic rivalry<sup>81</sup>. Like Bessarion, Isidore and Melissenos he was a strong supporter of the Union of Florence. He had been present at the council and been well rewarded by the Pope for his services there<sup>82</sup> but he would also have sympathised and identified himself with the refugees. He had himself lived in Constantinople in the past and may even have himself been one of those who experienced the disaster of 1453<sup>83</sup>. This was probably why he was entrusted with thirty florins by the Pope on 30 September 1457 to pass on to two 'pauperes grecos'<sup>84</sup>.

The wealthy exiles could also assist the less fortunate by maintaining them in their households. Isidore was patron of Matthew Spandonios, Bartholomew Argyropoulos, the son of the scholar John Argyropoulos, and possibly of Franculios Servopoulos<sup>85</sup>. Bessarion's household, which was centred on his residence at the foot of the Quirinal near his church of Santi Apostoli<sup>86</sup>, included his procurator, George

<sup>81</sup> ASR MC 834, ff. 1, 14v; ASVat Introitus et Exitus 441, ff. 80v, 84v; G. Zippel, 'Un pretendente ottomano alla corte dei Papi - II "Turchetto"', *Nuova Antologia*, 5, 162 (1912), 69-84; F. Babinger, 'Bajezid Osman' (Calixtus Ottomanus), ein Vorläufer und Gegenspieler Dschem Sultans', *Nouvelle Clio*, 3 (1951), 349-88. There were good reasons why Torcello was chosen for this task. He had spent twelve years at the Ottoman court and so presumably spoke Turkish: Bertrand de la Broquière, *Voyage*, p. 263.

<sup>82</sup> ASVat Reg. Vat. 366, ff. 347-347v; Iorga, *Notes et extraits*, vol. 2, pp. 365-6; *Epistolae Pontificiae ad Concilium Florentinum Spectantes*, ed. G. Hofmann, *Concilium Florentinum: Documenta et Scriptores*, vol. 1 (Rome, 1940), pt. 2, pp. 97-8.

<sup>83</sup> He was often described as 'civis Constantinopolitanus' and he may have been the John Torcello who received alms in Naples in 1453: ASVat Reg. Vat. 361, ff. 204-204v (orig. 211-211v); ASR MC 829, f. 234; ASVat Introitus et Exitus 410, f. 108; Iorga, *Notes et extraits*, vol. 1 = *ROL*, 7 (1900), 56, vol. 2, pp. 22, 50, 398; F. Babinger, 'Veneto-Kretische Geistesstrebungen um die Mitte des XV Jahrhunderts', *BZ*, 57 (1964), 62-77, esp. 73-5.

<sup>84</sup> ASR MC 833, f. 55. One of them may have been the Demetrius who later joined the household of Torcello's Turkish pupil: ASR Camerale 1, *Entrata e Uscita del Maggiordomo* 1348, ff. 30-30v (orig. 29-29v).

<sup>85</sup> ASR MC 834, ff. 56v, 68; ASVat Reg. Vat. 499, ff. 114v-115; Pierling, *La Russie*, vol. 1, p. 96. Spandonios may have been the Matthew 'Spandonino' who later married Eudocia Cantacuzena in Venice. Bartholomew Argyropoulos, however, came to a violent but unspecified end: ASV Consiglio dei Dieci, *Misti reg.* 18, f. 168v (orig. 113v); Sathas, *Documents*, vol. 9, pp. XXXVIII-IX; *Cent dix lettres grecques*, pp. 142-50. See also above p. 58.

<sup>86</sup> Mohler, *Kardinal Bessarion*, vol. 1, pp. 249, 331-5.

Tarchaniotes of Mistra<sup>87</sup>, the Cypriot, James Sceba<sup>88</sup>, Manuel Palaeologus, Andronicus Callistus, Athanasius Chalceopoulos, the future bishop of Gerace<sup>89</sup> and possibly Alexius Zelodanos who later became bishop of Gallipoli<sup>90</sup>. His most famous dependent was the scholar Theodore Gaza of Thessalonica whom he invited to come and live under his roof some time after 1458, out of admiration for his translations from Greek into Latin<sup>91</sup>. Both George Sphrantzes and Michael Apostolis spent some time under his roof while in Rome<sup>92</sup>.

Two influential female exiles played the same role. Anna Notaras was patron to Franculios Servopoulos and John Plousiadenos. The half-Greek queen of Cyprus, Charlotte Lusignan, who resided in Rome from 1475 until 1487, is likely to have brought at least some Greek companions with her because she spoke her mother's Greek as her first language. The French of her father's family evidently perplexed her, so that while in Europe she was accompanied by an interpreter, Jacques Langlois, who translated everything for her benefit<sup>93</sup>. However, although

<sup>87</sup> Tarchaniotes was appointed as Bessarion's procurator on 17 August 1465: ASVat Armario 34, vol. 6, f. 15v. He is described in another letter as 'Laicus Lacedemon. Dioc.': Laurent and Guillou, *Liber Visitationis*, p. 209.

<sup>88</sup> ASVat Armario 34, vol. 6, f. 66 (orig. 65) contains a letter of Bessarion dated 23 July 1469, witnessed by Sceba. See also Schioppalalpa, *In Perantiquam Sacram Tabulam*, pp. 136-41.

<sup>89</sup> Raphael Volaterranus, *Commentariorum Urbanorum Libri XXXVIII* (Basle, 1530), f. 246; Laurent and Guillou, *Liber Visitationis*, pp. 205-11; *Cent dix lettres grecques*, p. 113. This Manuel Palaeologus may have been the visitor to Filelfo in Milan in 1465: *ibid.* pp. 117-18.

<sup>90</sup> Ravenna, *Memorie istoriche*, pp. 450-5; Eubel, vol. 2, p. 157. The Lucretia Palaeologina who was buried in Santi Apostoli in 1487 may also have been connected with the cardinal in some way: BAV Vat. Lat. 5250, f. 176v. On Bessarion's patronage of this church see A. Coccia, 'Il Cardinale Bessarione e la basilica dei SS. XII Apostoli in Roma', *Il Cardinale Bessarione nel V centenario della morte* (1472-1972) (Rome, 1974), pp. 129-44.

<sup>91</sup> Bessarion, *Epistola ad Theodorum Gazam*, PG 161, col. 685; Platina, *Panegyricus*, col. CXV. For a letter witnessed by Gaza at Bessarion's house in 1469 see: ASVat Armario 34, vol. 6, ff. 68-68v. On Gaza in general see: *BH*, vol. 1, pp. XXXI-XLIX; D.J. Geanakoplos, 'Theodore Gaza, a Byzantine scholar of the Palaeologan "renaissance" in the Italian Renaissance', *Medievalia et Humanistica*, 12 (1984), 61-81.

<sup>92</sup> Sphrantzes, bk. XLIII, ch. 1, p. 130; Apostolis, *Lettres*, no. LXI, pp. 79-81.

<sup>93</sup> ASR MC 836, f. 196v; DG 1236, ff. 1v et passim; ASVat Introitus et Exitus 449, f. 111v (orig. 110v); Pius, *Commentaries*, pp. 480-6; John Burchard, *Diarium*, ed. L. Thuasne, vol. 1 (Paris, 1883), pp. 272-3; Hill, *History of Cyprus*, vol. 3,



she left a considerable number of *familiares* on her death, only two of them, Anna Sinopito of Constantinople and her son Demetrius are known for certain to have been Greek<sup>94</sup>.

The willingness of many Greeks to help their fellow exiles is proof that they had not forgotten their roots. Of course, there were others who had attracted the patronage of some wealthy Italian and who could dispense with the ties of common origin and language. Demetrius Chalcocondyles seems to have been one of them. He had probably enjoyed Bessarion's hospitality in Rome when he first came to Italy but had since pursued a successful career in Padua and Florence and so felt able to ridicule his former benefactor as 'an ass clothed in the skin of a lion'<sup>95</sup>. Another was Andronicus Contoblacas, against whose ingratitude Bessarion railed bitterly in a letter to Guillaume Fichet<sup>96</sup>. These seem to have been a minority, however, and that many others had not forgotten their homeland is clear from their efforts to promote a crusade against the Turks.

It was obvious that Constantinople could not be recovered without western help, so many educated exiles made rhetorical appeals to the king of France, the Doge of Venice and other European rulers to rise up and overthrow the Turks<sup>97</sup>. However, many Byzantines in exile placed their

pp. 582-612; M.L. de Mas-Latrie, *Histoire de l'île de Chypre*, vol. 3 (Paris, 1855), pp. 115-16, n. 2, pp. 151-2, n. 1; Cecchini, 'Anna Notara', 27-8.

<sup>94</sup> S. de Ricci, 'Une inscription byzantine de Rome', *Mélanges C. Diehl*, vol. 1 (Paris, 1930), pp. 291-2. After Charlotte's death in 1487, Pope Innocent VIII wrote to her kinsman the duke of Savoy suggesting that he take care of the many members of the late queen's household: A. Segre, 'Delle relazioni tra Savoia e Venezia da Amedeo VI a Carlo II (III), 1366-1553', *Memorie della Reale Accademia delle Scienze di Torino*, 2nd series, 49 (1900) - Scienze morali, storiche e filologiche, 24, n. 6.

<sup>95</sup> H. Noiret, 'Huit lettres inédites de Démétrius Chalcondyle', *Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de l'École Française de Rome*, 7 (1887), no. V, 490-3; G. Cammelli, *I dotti bizantini e le origini dell'umanesimo - III: Demetrio Calcondila* (Florence, 1954), pp. 45-7.

<sup>96</sup> *Cent dix lettres grecques*, p. 238: 'Andronicus ille Contoblas, monstrum naturae, ut omnium ignorissimus contemnendus est. Nihili homo est, et non minus indoctus quam ingratus, quando parum id quod scit domi nostrae didicit et nostro pane nutritus. Valeat cum ingratitudine sua!'. Andronicus Contoblacas later taught Greek at Basle: W.O. Schmitt, 'Eine unbekannte Rede zum Lob der Griechischen Kontoblakes', *Literatur - zur literarischen Biographie des Humanisten Andronikos Kontoblakes*, *Philologus*, 115 (1971), 264-77.

<sup>97</sup> Iorga, *Notes et extraits*, vol. 2, p. 518; *Collectanea Trapezuntiana*, ed. J. Monfasani (Binghampton, New York, 1984), pp. 422-33; M.J. McGann, 'A call to arms: Michael Marullus and Charles VIII', *Byzantinische Forschungen*, 16 (1991),

faith in the Papacy and saw Rome as the centre from which a crusade to recapture Constantinople would be launched. This was in spite of the papacy's failure to send help to Constantinople in 1453 which had prompted Sphrantzes' bitter comment that the city received 'as much help from Rome as was sent by the sultan of Cairo'<sup>98</sup>.

The small Greek community which grew up in Rome played a very important part in the crusading plans of Calixtus III and Pius II. Although Bessarion had originally opposed Pius's election because he had thought him too old and feeble<sup>99</sup>, he worked tirelessly under him to make these plans a reality. In 1460 he undertook the legatine mission to Germany in a vain attempt to persuade the princes to sink their differences and unite in the common interests of Christendom<sup>100</sup> and in 1472 he was despatched by Sixtus IV on a similar mission to France<sup>101</sup>. In Italy, too, the cardinal made great efforts to convince governments,

341-59.

<sup>98</sup> Sphrantzes, bk. XXXVI, ch. 6, p. 102; C. Marinesco, 'Le Pape Nicolas V et son attitude envers l'empire byzantin', *Actes du IVe Congrès Internationale des Études Byzantines - Sofia, 1930*, in *Bulletin de l'Institut Archéologique Bulgare*, 9 (1935), 331-42; Setton, *Papacy and Levant*, vol. 2, pp. 104-7.

<sup>99</sup> Pius, *Commentaries*, pp. 96, 102-3. Both Bessarion and Isidore had used a variety of tricks to promote their candidate, the French Cardinal d'Estouteville, in the conclave of 1458. They left the room on a pretended call of nature to disrupt the proceedings and physically prevented a cardinal who wished to cast a contrary vote from rising.

<sup>100</sup> E. Meuthen, 'Zum Itinerar der Deutschen Legation Bessarions (1460-1)', *Quellen und Forschungen aus Italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken*, 37 (1957), 328-33; P.K. Enepekides, 'Die Wiener Legation des Kardinals Bessarion in den Jahren, 1460-1', *Miscellanea Marciana di studi Bessarionei* (Padua, 1976), pp. 69-82; G. Schuhmann, 'Kardinal Bessarion in Nürnberg', *Jahrbuch für Fränkische Landesforschung*, 34-5 (1975), 447-65.

<sup>101</sup> The mission proved a disaster. Bessarion's main task was to secure support for Sixtus's crusading fleet but he found the king, Louis XI, impossible to deal with. Although he arrived in France in the early summer of 1472, he was kept waiting at Saumur for several months before Louis consented to see him. When they did meet, Bessarion's beard is probably apocryphal: ASVat Introitus et Exitus, 487, f. 164v (orig. 186v); Vespasiano, p. 140; *Lettres de Louis XI*, ed. J. Vaesen and E. Charavay, vol. 5 (Paris, 1895), pp. 2-3; PG 161, cols. 699-700; *Oeuvres complètes de Pierre de Bourdeille, Seigneur de Brantôme*, ed. L. Lalanne, vol. 2 (Paris, 1866), pp. 348-9; P. Ourliac, 'Louis XI et le Cardinal Bessarion', *Bulletin de la Société Archéologique du Midi de la France*, 5 (1942-5), 33-55; Setton, *Papacy and Levant*, vol. 2, p. 315, n.3. On the return journey Bessarion fell ill and died at Ravenna on 18 November: ASVat Armario 31, vol. 52, f. 79 (orig. 46).



especially that of Venice, that the Turkish threat was far more important than feuds and rivalries among themselves. Pius was so impressed by Bessarion's efforts that in 1459 he sent a force of one hundred mercenaries to the Morea, not because he thought they could do any good but because he did not want to disappoint the Greek cardinal who had 'set his heart on it'.<sup>102</sup>

Many other Greeks actively co-operated with the papacy's crusading policy. George Diplovatatzes, was instrumental in bringing about the capture of the island of Limnos by Cardinal Trevisan in 1456 and was rewarded with a safe-conduct to the West.<sup>103</sup> Others served as envoys, perhaps because it was thought that their first hand accounts of mistreatment of Christians would incline their audiences favourably towards the projected crusade. Manuel 'Aricolo' was sent to 'nonnullas partes per negotiis cruciate' by Pius II from the Congress of Mantua in 1459. John Torcello who went to 'partes orientales' and Nicolas Jagoup of Constantinople who went to Russia during Calixtus's pontificate may also have been on crusading business.<sup>104</sup>

The best documented case of a Byzantine exile serving as a crusading propagandist is that of Franculios Servopoulos whom Pius II sent 'ad Gallicanas, Anglicanas et alias partes' in 1458.<sup>105</sup> The Pope

<sup>102</sup> Pius, *Commentaries*, pp. 195-6; Iorga, *Notes et extraits*, vol. 2, p. 518; R. Manselli, 'Il Cardinale Bessarione contro il pericolo turco e l'Italia', *Miscellanea Francescana*, 73 (1973), 314-26. Bessarion sometimes allowed his enthusiasm for the crusade to over-ride his better judgement, as in the unedifying episode of the 'Societas Jesu Christi', whose founder, a Frenchman called Gerard, had succeeded in winning Bessarion's confidence and obtaining through him some bulls of Pius II. He had used these to collect money for his crusading order and then absconded with the proceeds: Pius, *Commentaries*, pp. 790-2; H. Prutz, 'Pius II Rüstungen zum Türkenkrieg und die Societas Jesu des flanderers Gerhard des Champs, 1459-61', *Sitzungsberichte der Königlich Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-philologische und historische Klasse* (Munich, 1912), pt. 4, pp. 1-63.

<sup>103</sup> Sathas, *Documents*, vol. 9, pp. XXXI-II and above p. 22. George 'Dromocates' or Dermocaites looked to Venice rather than to Rome for salvation and negotiated with the republic on ways of handing over the islands of Imbros and Samothrace: ASV Senato, Secreta reg. 20, f. 105 (orig. 104); Thiriet, *Régestes*, vol. 3, no. 3025, p. 215; Sathas, *Documents*, vol. 1, pp. 231-2.

<sup>104</sup> ASR MC 834, ff. 125; ASVat Reg. Vat. 437, f. 120; Reg. Vat. 465, ff. 133v-134; Reg. Vat. 470, f. 269v (orig. 268v).

<sup>105</sup> ASR MC 834, f. 43v (orig. 42v); ASVat Introitus et Exitus 441, f. 98 (orig. 131); 150 florins were paid to him for his expenses and a further sixty to buy four horses. A safe-conduct for himself and fifteen other persons, dated 7 November 1458, is in ASVat Reg. Vat. 468, ff. 318, 344. This was not Servopoulos's first diplomatic

probably had in mind the forthcoming Congress of Mantua, scheduled to open on 1 June 1459<sup>106</sup> and hoped that Servopoulos might stir a few consciences. The Greek envoy's first port of call was the duchy of Burgundy, for he is to be identified as the 'chancellor of the emperor of Constantinople' who visited Mons and Brussels in early 1459<sup>107</sup>. By March he was in London where he presented himself to King Henry VI at Westminster<sup>108</sup>. A herald, sent by the French king, Charles VII, has left an account of Servopoulos's address to the English court:

The embassy of our Holy Father is here and a knight of Constantinople has made a discourse before the said king, well and honourably, as the report goes to three ends: the one for the faith, the second for peace among Christians, the third that all by one common assent should succour the faith and drive back the infidels; and the twelfth day of this month has been appointed as that on which he will receive his answer.<sup>109</sup>

mission. See above p. 47.

<sup>106</sup> Pius *Commentaries*, p. 118; Setton, *Papacy and Levant*, vol. 2, pp. 196-230.

<sup>107</sup> ADN B2034, ff. 172, 181v. *IADNB*, vol. 4, p. 207: 'Au Chancelier de l'Empereur de Constantinople, derrain trépassé, la somme de trois cens livres, pour don à lui fait par Monseigneur pour lui aidier à deffraier de la dicte ville de Mons, où il est nagaires venu par devers mondit Seigneur en ambassade, de par nostre Saint Père, pour le fait de la foy chrestienne'. A letter of King Alfonso V of Aragon, dated June 1454 refers to 'Magnifico viro Franzulio Servopulo, olim Imperiali Cancellario ac Judici Romeorum Generali ...': Cerone, 'La politica orientale', *ASPN*, 27 (1902), 823; Du Cange, *Historia Byzantina*, p. 244.

<sup>108</sup> PRO E404/71/3/52: '... unto Franculeus Servopulus, knyght, late comyng towards us from oure Hooly Fadre, the Pope, with certain letters and ambassade: ye doo paye L marcs to have of oure tresore by wey of reward for the cause above saide'.

<sup>109</sup> *Letters and Papers Illustrative of the Wars of the English in France during the Reign of Henry VI*, ed. J. Stevenson, RS 22, vol. 1 (London, 1861), p. 368. The herald does not name the emissary nor does his despatch contain a precise date. Most modern authorities on the period, however, date the letter from its contents to early 1459 and not to late 1458 as suggested by Stevenson: B. Wolffe, *Henry VI* (London, 1981), p. 315. Since the herald's 'knight of Constantinople' was at Henry's court at the same time as Servopoulos, it seems reasonable to conclude that they were one and the same. Servopoulos's presence in England also coincided with that of Francesco Coppini, bishop of Terni, Pius's legate in England who had been sent 'to ask for the king's aid against the Turks and to settle the dissensions in that country': PRO SC7/32/23; Pius, *Commentaries*, p. 268; *Foedera*, vol. 5, pt. II, p. 83 (= XI, 419).



Yet in spite of the efforts of Bessarion, Servopoulos and others, the projected crusade never materialised. The reasons for this, however, lay not with the exiles but in the political situation in Europe at that time.

The most obvious obstacle to the project was that while nothing, as far as Pius II was concerned, 'was dearer than ... raising Christians against the Turks and declaring war on them'<sup>110</sup>, most secular rulers had other concerns, however attracted they might be to the idea in itself.

Franculios Servopoulos discovered this during his mission of 1459 when he found that he had hardly called at an opportune moment. England was about to dissolve into civil war between the Yorkist and Lancastrian factions and, according to the herald, Servopoulos was made aware that Henry did not enjoy the support of all his nobles:

And it has been remarked to the said knight how very few of the lords were at the court of the said king, considering the reputation he had heard declared of them and the kingdom<sup>111</sup>.

He can have brought little encouragement to Pius when he rejoined him in Mantua in August 1459<sup>112</sup> and his report must have helped the Pope to come to the conclusion that 'England, now racked with civil war, holds out no hope ...'. From France and Burgundy the response was no better. Both refused to join the proposed expedition on the grounds that there was still great danger from England<sup>113</sup>.

Yet the papacy relied on these secular powers to provide the men and material for a crusade and was able to do nothing without them. The Greeks seem to have been very slow to realise this. After the Turks reoccupied the Aegean islands, earlier captured by Calixtus's fleet, John Lascaris Rhyndacenos, who had formerly governed Samothrace on behalf of the Genoese Gattilusi family<sup>114</sup>, fled to Rome, perhaps in the hope of joining another expedition. All he got from Pius II, however, was the

<sup>110</sup> Pius, *Commentaries*, p. 115.

<sup>111</sup> *Letters and Papers Illustrative of the Wars*, vol. 1, p. 368.

<sup>112</sup> ASR MC 834, f. 112v (orig. 111v); ASVat Introitus et Exitus 441, f. 138v (orig. 171v): on 17 August he was paid 130 florins for his efforts in 'Burgundiam, Angliam et Franciam'.

<sup>113</sup> Pius, *Commentaries*, p. 278; M-R. Thielemans, *Bourgogne et Angleterre* (Brussels, 1966), pp. 465-9.

<sup>114</sup> *Cyriacus of Ancona's Journeys in the Propontis and the Northern Aegean, 1444-5*, ed. E.W. Bodnar and C. Mitchell (Philadelphia, 1976), p. 38; *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum*, vol. 4, ed. E. Curtius and A. Kirchhoff (Berlin, 1877), no. 9443, p. 499; S.P. Lambros, 'Επιστολή Πίου Β' πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον Ἀσάνην', *NE*, 10 (1913), 117, n. 2.

usual letter of indulgence and an exhortation to raise a force to recover the island<sup>115</sup>.

Alexander Asanes, who also had connections with the area<sup>116</sup>, received much the same treatment. In September 1459 he was at Mantua where he received a letter of indulgence from Pius because, having greatly assisted Cardinal Trevisan in the expedition of 1456, he had been reduced to penury when the Turks had returned to retake the islands<sup>117</sup>. Four years later Pius addressed a letter to Asanes, promising him the island of Imbros for himself and his heirs, in return for an annual tribute of one hundred ducats<sup>118</sup>. The concession was hardly a generous one. Imbros was, by then, firmly part of the Ottoman Empire. Only recently the sultan had presented it as part of an appanage to the ex-despot of the Morea, Demetrius Palaeologus<sup>119</sup>. Pius's letter contains no practical information on how this state of affairs was to be resolved but he did give Asanes a safe-conduct to pursue 'nonnullis negotiis nostrorum et Romane Ecclesie'. Asanes may, therefore, have made a tour of the West, in an attempt to secure backing for his venture and there is evidence that he passed through the kingdom of Naples and the duchy of Burgundy<sup>120</sup>. Needless to say, he did not succeed in reconquering Imbros nor is he heard of again after 1463.

The prospect of the crusade becoming a reality became even more remote after 1464 when Pius II died at Ancona, where he was attempting to muster a fleet. This gave the Venetians an excuse to recall their vessels

<sup>115</sup> ASVat Reg. Vat. 479, ff. 320-320v (orig. 316-316v); Baronius, *Annales Ecclesiastici*, vol. 29, pp. 285-6.

<sup>116</sup> A Manuel Lascaris Asanes, who may have been Alexander's father, was governing Imbros for the Byzantine emperor in the 1440s: *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum*, vol. 4, no. 9444, p. 499; Cyriacus of Ancona, p. 35.

<sup>117</sup> ASVat Reg. Vat. 472, f. 334v (orig. f. 332v), full text in Appendix I, see below p. 191.

<sup>118</sup> ASVat Reg. Vat. 492, ff. 4v-5, dated 18 June 1463. A Greek translation of this letter, possibly made by Constantine Lascaris, was published by Lambros, 'Επιστολή Πίου', 113-26.

<sup>119</sup> Critoboulos, bk. III, ch. 24.4, p. 150; Setton, *Papacy and Levant*, vol. 2, p. 227. <sup>120</sup> ASVat Reg. Vat. 491, ff. 250-251v; Forcellini, 'Strane peripezie', 195; Du Cange, *Historia Byzantina*, p. 325 suggests that Asanes visited Burgundy, though it is not clear from where he derived this information. Pius's indulgence for Asanes of 26 September 1459, specifically recommends him to the inhabitants of the lands ruled by the duke of Burgundy: ASVat Reg. Vat. 472, f. 334v. See full text in Appendix I, below p. 191.



and the expedition ultimately never sailed<sup>121</sup>. Given the complete failure of Pius's policy, it is understandable that his successors, Paul II (1464-71) and Sixtus IV (1471-84) should have taken a more cautious approach to the crusade. They could hardly ignore the Turkish problem and were forcibly reminded of it by the fall of Negroponte in 1470 and by the Turkish landing at Otranto in Southern Italy<sup>122</sup>. However, they lacked the single-minded determination of Pius and made free use of the resources of the papacy for other ends. Sixtus in particular aimed to enhance his temporal power and to promote the interests of his own family<sup>123</sup>.

The failure of the projected crusade can hardly, therefore, be laid at the door of the Greek exiles. In their attempts to bring it about, as well as in their concern for their own people, they demonstrated that they had not abandoned all patriotism. In this the most famous of them, the deposed members of the Palaeologus family, were no different, as a detailed examination of their activities reveals.

During the pontificate of Pius II, Rome became something of a haven for ex-rulers who had been expelled by the Turks, such as Giovanni Asan Zaccaria, illegitimate son of Centurione III, ruler of Arcadia and Catherine, queen of Bosnia<sup>124</sup>. In 1461 they were joined by Thomas Palaeologus, the despot of the Morea, who had abandoned his principality the previous summer and fled to Corfu, accompanied by his wife, family

<sup>121</sup> Giovanni Campano, *Vita Pii II Pontificis Maximi*, RIS 3, pt. 2 (Milan, 1734), cols. 990-2; Sanudo, *Vite de' Duchi*, cols. 1180-1; Setton, *Papacy and Levant*, vol. 2, pp. 269-70.

<sup>122</sup> Paul II established a special commission for the crusade at the beginning of his pontificate and set aside revenues from the alum mines at Tolfa to be expended on it. Sixtus spent large sums on a Papal-Venetian fleet which operated off the Southern coast of Asia Minor in the early 1470s: ASVat Reg. Vat. 542, f. 23; Introitus et Exitus, 487, f. 171v; Stefano Infessura, *Diario della città di Roma*, ed. O. Tommasini (Rome, 1890), p. 76; G. Zippel, 'L'allume di Tolfa e il suo commercio', *Archivio della Società Romana di Storia Patria*, 30 (1907), 5-51, 389-462, esp. 437-62; Setton, *Papacy and Levant*, vol. 2, pp. 274-6, 316-18.

<sup>123</sup> Lee, *Sixtus IV*, pp. 38-40; Setton, *Papacy and Levant*, vol. 2, pp. 312-13, 380; Bréhier, 'Bessarion', col. 1191.

<sup>124</sup> Both were given pensions, drawn from the revenues of the alum mines at Tolfa: ASVat Introitus et Exitus 444, f. 129v; Gottlob, *Aus der Camera*, pp. 292-3; Campano, *Vita Pii*, col. 981; *Chronica Fratris Nicolai Glassberger*, *Analecta Franciscana*, vol. 2 (Quaracchi, 1887), p. 456; Zippel, 'L'allume', 432; Setton, *Papacy and Levant*, vol. 2, p. 240, n. 32; Miller, 'Balkan exiles', pp. 497-515. Catherine of Bosnia's funeral monument can still be seen in the church of Santa Maria in Aracoeli in Rome: Forcella, *Iscrizioni*, vol. 1, no. 541, p. 147.

and many nobles, including George Sphrantzes<sup>125</sup>. After sending John Rhalles Oises to Rome to acquaint the Pope with the situation, Thomas himself crossed to Ancona on 16 November 1460, along with most of his nobles, although Sphrantzes and some others stayed behind on Corfu with the despot's family<sup>126</sup>. He finally reached Rome on 7 March 1461, according to the ambassador of the marquis of Mantua who witnessed his entry:

Last Saturday, which was the seventh of this month, the despot of the Morea came here. He is certainly a handsome man with a fine serious look about him and a noble and quite lordly bearing. He must be about fifty six years old. He wore a caftan of black camlet with a white fur-like hat lined with black, velvety satin with a band around it. I understand that he had seventy horse and as many foot, all the horses being borrowed, save three which are his own<sup>127</sup>.

Thomas has not been treated kindly by posterity. George Finlay dismissed him as a 'worthless prince' whose 'life is one long act of infamy'. Yet while it is true that his constant quarrels with his brother Demetrius helped to deliver the Morea into the hands of the Turks<sup>128</sup>, it should be noted that once he was in Italy, he acted in much the same way as Bessarion, Isidore and John Torcello, doing all he could to assist his fellow countrymen and to organise a counter-attack against the Turks.

Thomas was received kindly by the Pope who gave him a lodging in the hospital of Santo Spirito in Sassia and a monthly pension<sup>129</sup>. He seems to have passed on this largesse to some of the nobles who had followed him from Corfu, since Sphrantzes implied that the pension was used for the maintenance of a household<sup>130</sup>. It is difficult to assess how many people were supported by the despot, as some may have left his

<sup>125</sup> Sphrantzes, bk. XL, ch. 10-12, pp. 121-2; Setton, *Papacy and Levant*, vol. 2, p. 226.

<sup>126</sup> Sphrantzes, bk. XL, ch. 13, p. 122, bk. XLI, ch. 2-6, p. 124; Fassoulakis, *Byzantine Family of Rhaoul-Rhalles*, no. 67, pp. 81-2.

<sup>127</sup> Original in Archivio di Stato, Mantua, Archivio Gonzaga. Partial text in Pastor, *History of the Popes*, vol. 3, appendix no. 43, p. 403; trans. Setton, *Papacy and Levant*, vol. 2, p. 228.

<sup>128</sup> G. Finlay, *History of Greece*, vol. 4 (Oxford, 1877), p. 267; Runciman, *Fall*, pp. 171-2.

<sup>129</sup> Pius, *Commentaries*, pp. 377-8.

<sup>130</sup> Sphrantzes, bk. XLI, ch. 8, p. 126.



service once they were in Rome. Manuel Asanes Sophianos, for example, seems to have departed for Mantua, armed with a letter of recommendation written by Thomas to the marquis<sup>131</sup>. However, they might have included John Rhalles Oises, who had been sent ahead to Rome and Thomas's interpreter, James 'Disegli', although this last may have been an Italian<sup>132</sup>.

Thomas Palaeologus also featured prominently in the preparations for the crusade. At the beginning of 1462 Pius offered an indulgence to anyone who would provide the despot with material assistance for his voyage to Greece<sup>133</sup>. Thomas then embarked on a tour of Italy, presumably to drum up support and collect contributions, in high hopes of being restored to his despotate<sup>134</sup>.

If Thomas ultimately played no part in the war against the Turks, that was not his fault but that of other European rulers who had their eyes on their own interests. The government of Ragusa, conscious of the close proximity of the Turks and not wishing to provoke their powerful neighbours, forbade him to enter their territory and their captains to carry him in their ships<sup>135</sup>. The Venetians instructed their ambassador to the Holy See to ensure that Thomas was on no account permitted to participate in any expedition against the Turks, on the grounds that his presence was likely to lead to dissension<sup>136</sup>. Most likely they objected to his presence in case he acted as a nationalist focus for the many Greeks under Venetian rule.

Thomas's son and titular successor, Andreas, has received similar disparaging treatment at the hands of posterity but he too was active in promoting both the interests of his countrymen and the planned

<sup>131</sup> *LPP*, vol. 4, p. 238. George Tarchaniotes, Bessarion's procurator who was originally from the Morea, may also have originally come over with the despot: Laurent and Guillou, *Liber Visitationis*, p. 209.

<sup>132</sup> *ASR MC* 838, f. 78v.

<sup>133</sup> *ASVat Reg. Vat.* 518, ff. 71-75 (orig. 70-74); *LPP*, vol. 4, pp. 259-64.

<sup>134</sup> Details of Thomas's Italian tour are lacking, though in October 1462 he was in Perugia, on his way back to Rome where he intended to confer with the Pope and Bessarion: *LPP*, vol. 4, p. 241; Zakythinos, *Despotat*, vol. 1, pp. 289-90.

<sup>135</sup> Krekić, *Dubrovnik*, nos. 1384, 1411, 1412, 1414, 1418, 1420, pp. 401-7. They did, however, make him a gift of money in November 1460, after he had fled the Morea: *ibid.*, no. 1429, p. 409.

<sup>136</sup> *ASV Senato, Secreta reg.* 22, ff. 16, 20 (orig. 14, 18); Setton, *Papacy and Levant*, vol. 2, p. 268, n. 28.

crusade<sup>137</sup>. He had first arrived in Rome in May 1465 at the age of twelve, along with his younger brother and sister, Manuel and Zoe and their education was entrusted to Cardinal Bessarion<sup>138</sup>. Andreas was the only one to remain in Rome. Zoe was married to the Grand Duke Ivan III of Moscow in 1472<sup>139</sup> and in 1476 Manuel quit Rome to live as a subject of the sultan in Constantinople<sup>140</sup>.

Andreas spent the rest of his life as a pensioner of the Pope. Paul II and Sixtus IV both promised him the same pension that his father had enjoyed and recognised him as rightful despot of the Morea<sup>141</sup>. By 1481, however, he appears to have been in financial difficulties<sup>142</sup>. This may well have been partly due to his extravagance, as contemporary chroniclers claimed, but there is also evidence that his pension was not always paid in full. It was, for example, given at the rate of a hundred ducats a month during the year 1488-9, rather than the promised one

<sup>137</sup> For unfavourable accounts of Andreas see: Zakythinos, *Despotat*, vol. 1, pp. 290-7; Runciman, *Fall*, pp. 183-4; Nicol, *Last Centuries*, pp. 400-1.

<sup>138</sup> Sphrantzes, bk. XLI, ch. 10, p. 126, bk. XLII, ch. 10, p. 130; Mohler, *Kardinal Bessarion*, vol. 3, pp. 531-6. They arrived shortly after the death of their father. Thomas's eldest daughter, Helena, the widow of the Despot Lazar Branković of Serbia, visited him in Italy between April and August 1461. She did not remain in Italy, however, retiring as a nun to the island of Santa Maura (Leucas) where she died on 7 November 1472: *ASVat Reg. Vat.* 480, ff. 109v, 312v; Sphrantzes, bk. XLI, ch. 9, p. 126, bk. XLVII, ch. 3, p. 142.

<sup>139</sup> Jacopo Ammanati, *Diario Concistoriale*, *RIS NS* 23.3 (Città di Castello, 1904), pp. 143-4; Pierling, *La Russie*, vol. 1, pp. 108-85. It had first been planned to marry Zoe to King James II of Cyprus. The story of Zoe's betrothal to a member of the Italian Caracciolo family in 1466, however, is late and unreliable: G. Pignataro, 'Un vescovo di Gerace alla corte di Cipro (1467-8) e un matrimonio mancato', *Historica*, 17 (1964), 19-23; J.B. Papadopoulos, 'Οι ἀρραβῶνες τῆς "Αὐθεντοπούλας" μετὰ τοῦ Ἰταλοῦ ἀρχόντος Καρρακιδίου', *EEBS*, 12 (1936), 264-8.

<sup>140</sup> Manuel's departure can be dated from a Papal safe-conduct for himself and his followers dated 25 April 1476: *ASVat Reg. Vat.* 665, ff. 182-182v. Theodore Spandugnino, *De la origine deli imperatori ottomani*, in Sathas, *Documents*, vol. 9, p. 157; *Historia Politica*, pp. 34-5.

<sup>141</sup> Sphrantzes, bk. XLII, ch. 11, p. 130; Gaspare da Verona, *De Gestis Tempore Pontificis Maximi Pauli II*, *RIS NS* 3.16 (Città di Castello, 1904), p. 59; Michael Canensi, *De Vita et Pontificatu Pauli II*, *RIS NS* 3.16 (Città di Castello, 1904), pp. 138-9; Glassberger, *Chronica*, vol. 2, p. 456: 'Principes etiam pauperes et nobiles patria extorres, et praesertim Palaeologorum filios Bosniaeque Reginam atque alios complurimos a Turchis pulsos, pecuniis adjuvare non destitit'.

<sup>142</sup> Spandugnino, p. 157; Jacopo Gherardi da Volterra, *Diario Romano*, *RIS NS* 23.3 (Città di Castello, 1904), p. 81.



hundred and fifty, and it often fell below that<sup>143</sup>. With the accession of Alexander VI in August 1492, it dropped to fifty ducats a month<sup>144</sup>.

Yet in spite of his difficulties, Andreas behaved in a very similar way to the other prominent Byzantine exiles. He acted as patron to the Greeks who made up his household, even though the expense of maintaining them must have contributed to his penury<sup>145</sup>. He probably had less dependents than his father, as a number of those who had made up Thomas's original following had accompanied Zoe to Russia in the large retinue which she had taken with her<sup>146</sup>. Even so, of those who remained, many would have gravitated to his household. When Sphrantzes visited Rome in 1466, he stayed for some time as a guest in the house of the two despots<sup>147</sup> and others, described as *familiares*, must have been permanently based there. They probably included John Hermetianos and the physician, Critopoulos, who had accompanied the Despot Thomas's children to Rome in 1465, Stamates Branas and Thomas Rhalles, who are mentioned as *familiares* in a Papal safe-conduct of 1474, and Mancaphas, Contos and Nicolas whom the *Historia Politica* credits with having advised the younger brother Manuel to leave Rome in 1476<sup>148</sup>. Michael

<sup>143</sup> ASR MC 851 f. 319v; MC 851, f. 280: for the month of January 1486 he only received sixty six ducats. In July 1474 Sixtus IV had promised him an annual pension of 1800 ducats: ASVat Reg. Vat. 563, ff. 122-3.

<sup>144</sup> ASR MC 856, f. 1c. It seems thereafter to have been paid more regularly though: *ibid.* ff. 1-76. On 16 January 1500, sixty ducats were ordered to be paid to the despot by the Pope for an unknown reason: ASVat Armario 29, vol. 53, f. 51v (orig. 49v); Russo, *Registro Vaticano*, vol. 3, no. 14231, p. 135 where the reference is incorrectly given as Armario 29, vol. 51.

<sup>145</sup> Hence the description of his followers by one Italian contemporary as 'paltry': Gherardi, p. 81.

<sup>146</sup> They included George Tarchaniotes and a nobleman called Constantine and contemporary accounts give varying numbers of followers in Zoe's retinue when she arrived in Nuremberg, from sixty to one hundred people: *Die Chroniken der Deutschen Städte - Nürnberg*, vol. 4 (Leipzig, 1872), pp. 330-1, vol. 5 (Leipzig, 1874), pp. 468-9; Martynov, *Annus Ecclesiasticus*, p. 134; *Nikonian Chronicle*, vol. 5, p. 150; G. Schuhmann, 'Die "Kaiserin von Konstantinopel" in Nürnberg', *Archive und Geschichtsforschung: Studien zur Fränkischen und Bayerischen Geschichte, Fridolin Solleder zum 80 Geburtstag dargebracht* (Neustadt, 1966), pp. 148-74; J.L.I. Fennell, *Ivan the Great of Moscow* (London, 1961), pp. 122-31. A certain Hieracos had been picked to go because he could speak Russian but he fell ill and the party had to leave without him: Mohler, *Kardinal Bessarion*, vol. 3, pp. 577-8.

<sup>147</sup> Sphrantzes, bk. XLIII, ch. 1, p. 130.

<sup>148</sup> ASVat Reg. Vat. 663, f. 551v; *LPP*, vol. 4, p. 274; Mohler, *Kardinal Bessarion*, vol. 3, p. 533; *Historia Politica*, pp. 34-5.

Aristoboulos, Manuel Palaeologus and George Pagumenos who accompanied Andreas to Brindisi in 1481 were probably also members of his household<sup>149</sup> as was Demetrius Rhaoul Cavaces who represented Zoe's brothers at her wedding in Moscow<sup>150</sup>.

However, Andreas was clearly unable to provide for his countrymen in the way Bessarion had and this may explain why many Greeks seem, like Theodore Gaza, to have left Rome in the years after the death of the Greek cardinal in 1472<sup>151</sup>. Others turned elsewhere for support. From 1479 a number of them were receiving monthly pensions direct from the Apostolic Camera. Theodore 'Semblaco' or Tzambalcon described in the *Libri dei Mandati* as 'olim de familia domini dispoti Moree', suggesting that the Pope had taken over from the impoverished despot as his patron<sup>152</sup>. Catherine 'Zamplaconissa' or Tzambalconissa who drew a similar pension between 1489 and 1504, may have been related to this Theodore and in the same situation. Constantine 'de Morea', Theodorina 'de Mori', Megalia 'de Morea' and Euphrasina Palaeologina and her daughter, Thomasina Cantacuzena, both 'de Moree'<sup>153</sup>, all of whose names appear in the records, may also have been former members of the despot's household.

Like his father before him, Andreas also co-operated with the Popes' crusading policy in the hope of winning back the Morea. In the late summer of 1481, according to one chronicler, Sixtus IV provided him

<sup>149</sup> Forcellini, 'Strane peripezie', 212, n. 4. This Manuel Palaeologus may have been the same man as witnessed a letter in the house of the despots in May 1467: Laurent and Guillou, *Liber Visitationis*, p. 209. He is to be distinguished from Andreas's younger brother of the same name who had left Italy for ever by 1481.

<sup>150</sup> ASVat Reg. Vat. 681, ff. 2\*, 273 (orig. 276); *Nikonian Chronicle*, pp. 157-8; Croskey, *Byzantine Greeks in Russia*, p. 38. Cavaces had been in Rome since at least 1467: BAV Vat. Gr. 2238, f. 155; S. Lilla, 'Gli Excerpta di Strabone fatti da Demetrio Raoul Cabakes nel codice Vat. Gr. 2238', *Scriptorium*, 33 (1979), 68-75; A. Keller, 'Two Byzantine scholars and their reception in Italy', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 20 (1957), 363-70.

<sup>151</sup> Lee, *Sixtus IV*, p. 174, n. 88. According to one story Gaza left Rome in a rage because Sixtus only paid him fifty florins for his translation of Aristotle's *De Animalibus*: C.F. Börner, *De Doctis Hominibus Graecis* (Leipzig, 1750), pp. 124-5.

<sup>152</sup> ASR DG 1236, f. 33v; DG 1237, f. 85v; MC 856, f. 1; Gottlob, p. 292.

<sup>153</sup> ASR DG 1236, ff. 61v, 76, 88-89v; DG 1237, flyleaf; MC 857, f. 30v; Gottlob, p. 292.



with two thousand ducats with which to finance an expedition to Greece<sup>154</sup>. Andreas then moved to Southern Italy, the natural springboard for such an attack and by October he was at Foggia with several companions where he received further funds for the enterprise from Ferrante, king of Naples<sup>155</sup>.

In the event, the expedition never took place. The despot and his companions lingered in Brindisi throughout October and November, enjoying the hospitality of the Neapolitan king<sup>156</sup>. There were, however, very good reasons why the idea was no longer practical by the end of 1481. Earlier in the year the situation had looked most promising for a successful war against the Turks who had just suffered a severe reverse on Rhodes. Moreover, the death of Mehmed II on 3 May had been followed by a civil war between his sons, Bayezid and Jem, and in September 1481 King Ferrante's armies had dislodged the Turkish force occupying Otranto<sup>157</sup>. Thus Andreas may have hoped take part in a counter-attack launched under Ferrante's leadership. By the autumn, on the other hand, it would have become clear that the Ottoman domains were not going to break up. Bayezid II was established as sultan in Constantinople and the Christian powers were, as usual, too disunited to take advantage of the recent victories.

In general, therefore, Andreas's ability to help his fellow exiles and to participate in the war against the Turks was severely restricted by his lack of funds. The last phase of his life seems to have been taken up with a sad struggle to supplement his meagre income by various means. He granted titles and honours to wealthy noblemen who doubtless paid for the privilege and he even indulged in trade<sup>158</sup>. Finally, in 1494, the despot agreed to cede to the French king, Charles VIII, all his rights to

<sup>154</sup> Gherardi, p. 81. Sixtus wrote to the bishop of Evora on 15 September to direct him to do everything in his power to assist the despot in his intention of crossing the Ionian sea: Setton, *Papacy and Levant*, vol. 2, p. 373, n. 35 citing Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Florence, Bib. Magliab. ms I-III 256, f. 34.

<sup>155</sup> Forcellini, 'Strane peripezie', 212, n. 4.

<sup>156</sup> Forcellini, 'Strane peripezie', 213, n. 1.

<sup>157</sup> Setton, *Papacy and Levant*, vol. 2, pp. 358-62, pp. 371-3, 381-2; BN ms

<sup>158</sup> ASVat Fondo Borghese, vol. 1, 783, ff. 124-126 (orig. 125-127); BN ms français 30927 (Cabinet d'Hozier, XLVI), cote 1137, ff. 4-5; LPP, vol. 4, pp. 297-8; W. Regel, 'Chrysobull of the Emperor Andreas Palaeologus of 13 April 1483' (in Russian with Latin text of document), *Vizantijskij Vremennik*, 1 (1894), 157-8; G. Lancellotti, *Poesie italiane ed latine di Monsignor Angelo Colocci* (Jesi, 1772), pp. 177-8; *Documentos sobre relaciones*, vol. 2, no. 60, pp. 58-9, no. 62, p. 60, no. 138, p. 124. On Andreas's commercial activities see above p. 88.

the thrones of Constantinople, Trebizond and Serbia, in return for an annuity for the rest of his life<sup>159</sup>. He died in Rome in the summer of 1502<sup>160</sup>.

It is to be hoped that some of the points presented here will have done something to show that the Greek exiles in no way deserve the disparaging picture which is often painted of them, whether by contemporaries or by more recent authorities. On the contrary, there are good grounds for believing that they made a very significant and positive contribution to western society of the time, in a number of fields, and it is to this contribution that the discussion will now turn.

<sup>159</sup> BN ms français 15526, ff. 165-168; Halm, *Catalogus*, vol. 7, no. 1266 (Gall. 650), p. 356; LPP, vol. 4, pp. 299-300; Lambros, 'Μεταστάσεις', no. 8, 394-5; E. Lauréault de Foncemagne, 'Éclaircissements historiques sur quelques circonstances du voyage de Charles VIII en Italie et particulièrement sur la cession que lui fit André Paléologue, du droit qu'il avoit à l'Empire de Constantinople', *Mémoires de Littérature Tirés des Registres de l'Académie Royale des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres*, 28 (1769), 1-73, esp. 60-73.

<sup>160</sup> ASVat Introitus et Exitus 532, f. 126v (orig. 207v); Gottlob, p. 292; Geronimo Zurita, *Anales de la corona de Aragon*, (Zaragoza, 1610), bk. IV, ch. 39, vol. 5, ff. 209v-210v; P.K. Enepekides, 'Das wiener Testament des Andreas Palaiologus vom 7 April 1502', *Akten des XI Internationalen Byzantinisten Kongresses, München 1958*, ed. F. Dölger and H.-G. Beck (Munich, 1960), pp. 138-143.



## CHAPTER FOUR

### *Cultural Transmission from East to West: 1. The Greek Language*

Apart from the willingness of Greek immigrants to take advantage of the relative openness of western society, there was another reason why they were often able to occupy positions of high status there: they brought with them certain skills which were in demand in their adopted countries and which could not be provided from local sources. These skills were derived from their own culture and by practising them in the West, the emigres acted as a channel by which many aspects of Byzantine civilisation and technology were transmitted to the West.

The most obvious and best known example of such transmission, is that of classical Greek language and literature. Throughout the Middle Ages, the works of the ancient Greek philosophers, dramatists and historians which had, in many cases, been lost altogether in the West, were not only carefully preserved in Byzantium but also studied and read. In a society where the traditions of secular education had never died out, every generation produced a circle of intellectuals who had passed through the system of higher education and who were capable of understanding and appreciating classical Greek literature. There is every indication that they enjoyed it too. Manuel II chose a copy of the works of Plato as a worthy gift for his friend and mentor, Demetrius Cydones, and a casual bystander in a crowd gathered to watch an imperial procession could compliment the emperor's mistress with an apt line from Homer<sup>1</sup>.

Indeed, the Byzantines valued the authors of antiquity far above those of their own time. The fourteenth century scholar-statesman, Theodore Metochites, went so far as to assert that the ancients had said everything so perfectly that there was nothing left for anyone else to say<sup>2</sup>. This did not mean that the Byzantines produced no literature of their own, however. As Manuel II put it:

<sup>1</sup> Manuel II, *Letters*, no. 3, pp. 7-11; Michael Psellos, *Chronographie*, ed. and trans. E. Renauld, bk. VI, ch. 61, vol. 1 (Paris, 1926), pp. 146-7; C.N. Constantinides, *Higher Education in Byzantium in the Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth Centuries, 1204-c.1310* (Nicosia, 1982), pp. 1-2.

<sup>2</sup> Theodore Metochites, *Miscellanea Philosophica et Historica*, ed. C.G. Müller and T. Kiessling (Leipzig, 1821), pp. 14-16.



... if it should be made a law that because there are superior authors the inferior ones should be silent, why then, there would not be one person among the present generation, I believe, who would dare open his mouth, in view of the clear pre-eminence of the ancients. But this would be most unfortunate. It is certainly a good thing that those who try their hand at writing should strive with all their might to look to those who have become perfect in the art and take them as their models. But they must recognise very clearly that they are not attaining that level, and they should feel no shame at all at being surpassed by those men ...<sup>3</sup>.

Byzantine authors, therefore, attempted to imitate the language of classical Greece in their writings. They exchanged letters couched in the idiom of Periclean Athens which were designed to be read out to an admiring audience<sup>4</sup>. They produced literary histories in the style of Thucydides, sometimes copying entire passages from him and other authors and sprinkling in quotations from others<sup>5</sup>. It is easy to criticise Byzantine authors for the verbose and pedantic style which resulted from their imitation of classical models yet it is also evidence of the loving care with which they preserved and perpetuated their literary heritage.

It was only to be expected that those Byzantines who took up residence in the West would bring something of this heritage with them. They had the greatest impact on Italy but other parts of Europe also benefitted, if to a lesser extent.

### 1. Italy

In the past, the contribution of Byzantine exiles to the development of Greek learning in Italy has sometimes been rather exaggerated, not least in Leonardo Bruni's famous claim that Manuel Chrysoloras, who was appointed to the chair of Greek at the Florentine *Studium* in 1397, had

<sup>3</sup> Manuel II, *Letters*, no. 52, p. 148.

<sup>4</sup> The letters of Manuel II and Demetrius Cydones are typical of this genre: M. Mullett, 'The classical tradition in the Byzantine letter', *Byzantium and the Classical Tradition*, ed. M. Mullett and R. Scott (Birmingham, 1981), pp. 75-93.

<sup>5</sup> See, for example, Cameron, *Procopius*, pp. 40-3. In general see: R. Scott, 'The classical tradition in Byzantine historiography', *Byzantium and the Classical Tradition*, ed. M. Mullett and R. Scott (Birmingham, 1981), pp. 61-71 where some of the differences between Byzantine and classical historiography are discussed.

single-handedly revived in Italy the study of Greek letters which had been dead for seven hundred years<sup>6</sup>.

This was not entirely true. Greek appears to have been widely understood, for example, in Rome in the eighth and ninth centuries, when there was a substantial Greek presence in the city and although the study of Greek in Rome and elsewhere in Northern Italy tended to decline after the eighth century<sup>7</sup>, the presence of a sizeable Greek-speaking population in the South ensured that it did not die out completely. After the end of Byzantine rule, Westerners took advantage of this pool of Greek speakers to obtain translators and teachers. Both Petrarch and the English Franciscan, Roger Bacon recommended that those who wished to learn Greek should go to Southern Italy<sup>8</sup> and forty years before the arrival of Chrysoloras, the chair of Greek at the *Studium* had been occupied by a South Italian Greek, Leontios Pilatos<sup>9</sup>.

Nonetheless, there were two reasons why the arrival during the fifteenth century of Manuel Chrysoloras and the Byzantine refugee scholars should have had a much greater impact than the activities of these earlier teachers on the development of Greek studies in Italy. In the first place many of the new arrivals had been schooled in Constantinople rather than in Southern Italy and had been connected with literary circles there. They therefore provided a direct link with the Byzantine literary tradition, with its thorough knowledge of and admiration for the texts of

<sup>6</sup> Leonardo Bruni, *Rerum suo Tempore Gestarum Commentarius*, RIS NS 19.3 (Città di Castello and Bologna, 1914-26), p. 431: 'Septingentis iam annis nemo per Italiam Graecos litteras tenuit: et tamen doctrinas omnes ab illis esse confitemur'.

<sup>7</sup> The period saw the election of several Popes of eastern origin: *Liber Pontificalis*, vol. 1, p. 435; Setton, 'Byzantine background', 4-5; T.F.X. Noble, 'The declining knowledge of Greek in eighth and ninth century Rome', *BZ*, 78 (1985), 56-62.

<sup>8</sup> *The Greek Grammar of Roger Bacon*, ed. E. Nolan and S.A. Hirsch (Cambridge, 1902), p. 31; R. Weiss, 'The translators from the Greek at the Angevin court of Naples', *Rinascimento*, 1 (1950), 195-226; Setton, 'Byzantine background', 17-20.

<sup>9</sup> Pilatos also produced a Latin translation of Homer: A. Pertusi, *Leonzio Pilato fra Petrarca e Boccaccio* (Venice and Rome, 1964); Geanakoplos, *Greek Scholars*, pp. 20-2; Setton, 'Byzantine background', 44-5. Occasionally, learned individuals from elsewhere visited Italy, like Simon Atumanos, bishop of Thebes, who probably gave lessons in Rome: G. Mercati, *Se la versione dall'Ebraico del Codice Veneto Greco VII sia di Simone Atumano*, *Studi e Testi*, 30 (Rome, 1916), pp. 40-1; R. Weiss, 'Per la storia degli studi greci alla curia papale nel tardo duecento e nel trecento', *Medieval and Renaissance Greek - Collected Essays by Roberto Weiss* (Padua, 1977), pp. 193-203; Setton, 'Byzantine background', 47-52; N.G. Wilson, *From Byzantium to Italy. Greek Studies in the Italian Renaissance* (London, 1992), pp. 1-7.



classical antiquity. Manuel Chrysoloras, belonged to the inner circle of Byzantine intellectuals headed by Manuel II himself<sup>10</sup>. John Argyropoulos had taught in Constantinople<sup>11</sup>. Franculios Servopoulos also must have passed through the higher school, as he held high office as *catholicos crites* and was described as an educated man by Constantine Lascaris<sup>12</sup>. In the case of others it is not known how they spent their early years before their arrival in Italy but it is safe to assume that, in many cases, they were from the same background. Constantine Lascaris, to judge by his illustrious Byzantine name, was from Constantinople while Theodore Gaza seems to have been born and raised in Thessalonica, when it was still a Byzantine city. Even those who were not educated in Byzantium had been influenced by it. The Cretan Manuel Adramytenos, for example, was a pupil of the Constantinopolitan Michael Apostolis<sup>13</sup>.

A second point which distinguishes the fifteenth century emigre scholars from their predecessors is the fact that they arrived in considerable numbers, enough to allow them to spread their teaching activities all over Italy. The most celebrated Byzantine scholars pursued their careers in many cities, Theodore Gaza in Ferrara, Naples and Rome, Demetrius Chalcocondyles in Padua, Florence, and Milan. Florence was the main beneficiary of the wisdom of Manuel Chrysoloras but he may also have lectured in Pavia and Milan<sup>14</sup>. Both Florence and Rome enjoyed the presence of John Argyropoulos between 1456 and 1487 and

<sup>10</sup> Chrysoloras was one of the emperor's correspondents: Manuel II, *Letters*, nos. 37-8, pp. 99-103.

<sup>11</sup> Bodleian Library, Oxford ms Baroccianus 87, f. 35 contains a portrait of Argyropoulos teaching at the Cretan Xenon, perhaps drawn by one of his students. See also: *BH*, vol. 3, p. 166b; Cammelli, *I dotti bizantini. II: Giovanni Argiropulo*, pp. 29-34.

<sup>12</sup> Iriarte, *Regiae Bibliothecae*, p. 291; Lemerle, 'Documents and problèmes nouveaux', 43.

<sup>13</sup> *BH*, vol. 1, p. XL; Geanakoplos, 'Theodore Gaza', 62. See the letter of Apostolis to Adramytenos in *BH*, vol. 2, pp. 258-9, 423; Geanakoplos, *Greek Scholars*, p. 116.

<sup>14</sup> *BH*, vol. 1, pp. XXXI-II, XCVI-C; Geanakoplos, 'Theodore Gaza', 61-81; Lee, *Sixtus IV*, pp. 173-4; Cammelli, *I dotti bizantini. III: Demetrio Calcondila*, pp. 27-37, 40-51, 132; Geanakoplos, 'The discourse', 118-44; Cammelli, *I dotti bizantini. I: Manuele Crisolora*, pp. 77-130; Wilson, *Byzantium to Italy*, p. 9. Thomson, 'Manuel Chrysoloras', 78, however, believes that Chrysoloras stopped teaching after his departure from Florence.

Naples then Messina that of Constantine Lascaris after 1465<sup>15</sup>. Venice had Franculios Servopoulos and, for a time, George of Trebizond; Florence, Janus Lascaris; Mirandola, Manuel Adramytenos and it was at Milan that Demetrius 'Damilano' produced the first printed edition of a Greek book, the Grammar of Constantine Lascaris, in 1476<sup>16</sup>.

There were a number of ways in which these Byzantine immigrants helped to spread a knowledge of Greek language and literature in Italy during the fifteenth century. Teaching of Greek at all levels was a large part of their activity. Many illustrious Italian scholars and statesmen were influenced by them or were numbered among their pupils. Pallas Strozzi and Angelo Poliziano studied under John Argyropoulos, Aldus Manutius under Manuel Adramytenos<sup>17</sup>. Demetrius Chalcocondyles's students included Giovanni di Lorenzo de' Medici, the future Pope Leo X, Theodore Gaza's the Venetian humanist, Ermalao Barbaro<sup>18</sup>.

Their writings also had the effect of promoting Greek studies. The grammars of Theodore Gaza and Constantine Lascaris, which could be used by beginners, became very popular<sup>19</sup> and the emigre scholars also

<sup>15</sup> *Statuti della Università e Studio fiorentino*, p. 467; Garin, 'A proposito della biografia', 104-7; Pèrcopo, 'Nuovi documenti', 334-5; Wilson, *Byzantium to Italy*, pp. 86-90, 120-3; Fernández-Pómar, 'Collección', 219-221.

<sup>16</sup> ASV Senato, Terra reg. 4, f. 156 (orig. 155); Domenico Malipiero, *Annali veneti dall'anno 1457-1500, Archivio Storico Italiano*, 7, vol. 2 (Florence, 1844), p. 653; Iriarte, *Regiae Bibliothecae*, p. 186; Knös, *Un ambassadeur*, pp. 56-80; *BH*, vol. 1, pp. 1-5. On Adramytenos see: L. Bianchi, 'Bemerkungen zu Manuel Adramytenos', *BZ*, 22 (1913), 372-6; Geanakoplos, *Greek Scholars*, p. 116. Demetrius 'Damilano' may have been Demetrius 'Cretense' who was listed as a borrower at the Vatican library in 1494 or the Demetrius 'de Mediolano, Greco oriundo' employed as a copyist there in 1506: BAV Vat. Lat. 3966, f. 19; ASVat Armario 29, vol. 57, f. 225 (orig. 231).

<sup>17</sup> Vespasiano, p. 243; Cammelli, *I dotti bizantini. II: Giovanni Argiropulo*, p. 98. Manutius implies his association with Adramytenos in a letter to Poliziano written in 1485: *BH*, vol. 2, p. 258, n. 3; Geanakoplos, *Greek Scholars*, p. 116.

<sup>18</sup> Cammelli, *I dotti bizantini. III: Demetrio Calcondila*, pp. 76-81; A. Ferriguto, *Almorò Barbaro - l'alta cultura del settentrione nel 400, i 'Sacri Canones' di Roma e le 'Sanctissime Leze' di Venezia* (Venice, 1919), pp. 77-8; *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 6, 96-9.

<sup>19</sup> D. Donnet, 'Théodore de Gaza: "Introduction à la Grammaire", Livre IV: A la recherche des sources byzantines', *Byzantion*, 49 (1979), 133-55; Wilson, *Byzantium to Italy*, p. 122. Erasmus was of the opinion that Gaza's was the superior: *On the Method of Study, Collected Works of Erasmus*, vol. 24, trans. C. Thompson (Toronto, 1978), p. 667.



produced Latin translations of Greek authors, thus making them available to a much wider readership. Gaza was specifically employed as a translator at the court of Pope Nicolas V and his Latin renderings of the works of Aristotle were particularly important<sup>20</sup>. George of Trebizond was also a prolific translator, although his work was often unjustly criticised for inaccuracy by contemporaries<sup>21</sup>.

The commonest literary activity among Byzantine emigres in Italy, however, was neither teaching nor translating but copying of manuscripts. Before the introduction of printing this was the only way to ensure the survival of a text so that most Byzantine intellectuals copied books at one time or another. Several survive in the handwriting of Constantine Lascaris and two copies of Manuel II's *Funeral Oration*<sup>22</sup>, the hand of Cardinal Isidore date back to his time as an imperial scribe<sup>23</sup>. After the fall of Constantinople, reproduction of manuscripts provided a way in which many of the less fortunate exiles could earn themselves a living. Like Peter Hypsilas of Aegina who worked under Demetrius Chalcocondyles in Florence and later Milan<sup>23</sup>, they were sometimes employed by their compatriots in established positions. Filelfo service of the Italian humanists to provide books for their libraries. Filelfo had at least two working for him, Demetrius Xanthopoulos and Anthony Logothetes, both of whom he complained about bitterly in his letters<sup>24</sup>. As well as copying manuscripts such employees were often set the task of unearthing existing ones. Michael Apostolis and Janus Lascaris were sent to Constantinople on this errand by Bessarion and Lorenzo de' Medici<sup>25</sup>.

The majority of these scribes never received the adulation rained on Chrysoloras and Argyropoulos but they too made an important contribution to the revival of Greek studies in Italy. They also were to be

<sup>20</sup> Geanakoplos, 'Theodore Gaza', 68-9; Lee, *Sixtus IV*, pp. 173-4; *BH*, vol. 1, p. XXXVIII; Wilson, *Byzantium to Italy*, pp. 78-80.

<sup>21</sup> For a list of his translations see: *Collectio Trapezuntiana*, pp. 698-754; Setton, 'Byzantine background', 75; Wilson, *Byzantium to Italy*, pp. 76-8.

<sup>22</sup> Manuel II, *Funeral Oration*, pp. 32-7. Another manuscript in Isidore's hand is BAV Vat. Gr. 830, ff. 90-105; Mercati, *Scritti d'Isidoro*, pp. 72-3. For a list of Lascaris's manuscripts see: *VG*, pp. 242-6.

<sup>23</sup> H. Omont, *Fac-similés de manuscrits grecs des XVe et XVIe siècles* (Paris, 1887), no. 44; *VG*, p. 387.

<sup>24</sup> *Cent dix lettres grecques*, pp. 9-12; Filelfo, *Epistolae*, bk. XIII, 16 kalends July 1456; *VG*, pp. 32, 104.

<sup>25</sup> Apostolis, *Lettres*, no. IV, p. 56; Crusius, *Germanograecia*, p. 234; Knös, *Un ambassadeur*, pp. 30-55.

found at work the length and breadth of the peninsula. Manuel Rhousatas worked in Venice, Caesar Strategos in Florence<sup>26</sup>, Demetrius Leontaris in Otranto and Manuel Rhaoul in Naples<sup>27</sup>. Many more were active in the Venetian colonies, especially Crete<sup>28</sup>.

Moreover, like the holders of the chair of Greek at the Florentine Studium, many of these obscure scribes were originally from educated circles in Constantinople and had fallen on hard times as a result of the Turkish conquest. The scribe of Otranto, Demetrius Leontaris may well be the Byzantine refugee of the same name who was at Mantua and Brussels, in company with his brother Michael, in 1459-62 for he is known to have ended up living in the kingdom of Naples after 1465<sup>29</sup>. Both the refugee and the scribe are probably to be identified with the son of John Lascaris Leontaris who was born in Constantinople in 1418<sup>30</sup>. He seems to have moved in learned circles there. He was acquainted with Bessarion and owned several manuscripts, the margins of which he

<sup>26</sup> BN mss grecs 2275 and 2959; *VG*, pp. 118, 223-4; Omont, *Fac-similés*, no. 7.

<sup>27</sup> BN mss grecs 1639 and 2850 were both by Leontaris for Italian patrons: *VG*, p. 103. On another possible manuscript by this scribe see P. Krafft, *Die handschriftliche Überlieferung von Cornutus' Teologia Graeca* (Heidelberg, 1975), pp. 29-31. On Manuel Rhaoul in Naples see: *VG*, p. 280.

<sup>28</sup> Among them Michael Apostolis: Apostolis, *Lettres*, no. CXXI, p. 134; J.E. Powell, 'The Cretan manuscripts of Thucydides', *Classical Quarterly*, 32 (1938), 103-8.

<sup>29</sup> ASVat Reg. Vat. 471, f. 202v; ADN B2045, f. 274v; Setton, *Papacy and Levant*, vol. 2, p. 208, n. 32; Forcellini, 'Strane peripezie', 195.

<sup>30</sup> A short chronicle records his birth as having taken place on 12 November that year and that of his brother Michael on 23 May 1426. They were, therefore, probably the grandsons of Demetrius Lascaris Leontaris who had been the governor of Thessalonica during the reign of Manuel II: *Byzantinischen Kleinchroniken*, vol. 1, p. 644; Scholarios, *Oeuvres*, vol. 4, pp. 377-8; Barker, *Manuel II*, pp. 342-4. In general on the Leontaris family see: H. Hunger, *Johannes Chortasmenos, Wiener Byzantinische Studien*, 7 (Vienna, 1969), pp. 128-9; A. Turyn, *Dated Greek Manuscripts of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries in the Libraries of Italy*, vol. 1 (Urbana, 1972, reprint), p. XXI.



employed to write notes on his family's history<sup>31</sup>. Evidently the disaster of 1453 had brought a severe reversal of fortune for him.

The same probably applies to Manuel Rhaoul Palaeologus Melices, the scribe in Naples, mentioned above. A Manuel Rhaoul Melices had been an important figure in the Morea before its conquest by Mehmed II. He had married Helena Asan Palaeologina and had paid for the repair of a bridge over the river Alpheios in 1440<sup>32</sup>. The events of 1460 may well have driven him to cross the Adriatic, to end his days as a humble pensioner and scribe in Naples.

Although these erudite refugees were scattered all over Italy, certain cities attained a pre-eminence in Greek studies and in the production of texts during the fifteenth century. Foremost among them were Venice and Rome and in both cities it was the efforts of Cardinal Bessarion which brought this about as a result of his desire to preserve Hellenic culture and not to let it disappear as the empire had. In this vein he wrote to Michael Apostolis in 1455:

As long as the common and single hearth of the Greeks (i.e. Constantinople) remained standing, I did not concern myself (with gathering manuscripts) because I knew that they were to be found there. But when, alas, it fell, I conceived a great desire to acquire all these works, not so much for myself, who possess enough for my own use, but for the sake of the Greeks who are left now, as well as those who may have better fortune in the future, for many things may happen in the course of the years. Thus the Greeks may be able to find intact and preserved in a safe place all the records of their language which remain up to now and, finding these, may be able

<sup>31</sup> The following manuscripts contain notes which show them to have belonged to him: BAV Reg. Gr. 6, ff. 205v-206, Vat. Gr. 854, f. 7v and Vat. Gr. 1297; Mercati, *Scritti d'Isidoro*, pp. 82-3. For his notes on family history see: K.A. de Meyier, *Codices Vossiani Graeci et Miscellanei* (Leiden, 1955), pp. 46-8; A.M. Bandini, *Catalogus Codicum Graecorum Bibliothecae Laurentinae*, vol. 2 (Florence, 1768), col. 236. For his association with Bessarion see: H.D. Saffrey, 'Recherches sur quelques autographes du Cardinal Bessarion et leur caractère autobiographique', *Mélanges Eugène Tisserant*, vol. 3, *Studi e Testi*, 233 (Vatican City, 1964), pp. 263-97, esp. 286.

<sup>32</sup> He may have been the Manuel Palaeologus granted a royal pension in 1465: Lambros, 'Μετανάστευσις', no. 1, 380-2; N. Bees, 'Μανουήλ Παοδλ Παλαιολόγος Μελίκης', *Βυζαντις*, 1 (1909), 189-90; V. Laurent, 'Une famille turque au service de Byzance: les Melikès', *BZ*, 49 (1956), 349-68, esp. 355, 365.

to multiply them, without being left completely mute. Otherwise they would lose even these few vestiges of these excellent and divine men - which have been saved from what we have lost in the past - and they would differ in no way from barbarians and slaves<sup>33</sup>.

To achieve this end, Bessarion employed a large number of Greek scribes to copy manuscripts, in Rome, on Crete and in the Basilian monastery of Grottaferrata of which he was protector<sup>34</sup>. Of these the most prolific was the Cretan priest, John Rhossos, who steadily turned out commissions for the cardinal and other patrons for some fifty years<sup>35</sup>. Others produced only one or two books for the collection. Demetrius Trivolis copied the *Odyssey* and another work while in Rome between 1469 and 1472, and then returned to his native Corfu. The monk Cosmas Anaxios carried out two commissions for Bessarion, one in Rome, the other in Messina<sup>36</sup>. The cardinal also encouraged the translation of Greek texts into Latin. He himself prepared Latin versions of Xenophon's *Memorabilia*, the *Metaphysics* of Aristotle and the metaphysical essay of Theophrastus<sup>37</sup>.

Bessarion's influence was not limited to Rome. He encouraged Greek studies at the court of Federigo, count of Montefeltro and by bequeathing his library of eight hundred manuscripts to St. Mark's in

<sup>33</sup> Text in Mohler, *Kardinal Bessarion*, vol. 3, pp. 478-9; translation in Geanakoplos, *Greek Scholars*, pp. 81-2.

<sup>34</sup> E. Mioni, 'Bessarione scriba e alcuni suoi collaboratori', *Miscellanea marciiana di studi bessarionei* (Padua, 1976), pp. 263-318; A. Diller, 'Three Greek scribes working for Bessarion: Trivizias, Callistus, Hermonymos', *Italia Medioevale e Umanistica*, 10 (1967), 403-10; M.G.M. Zilembo, 'Gli amanuensi di Grottaferrata', *Bollettino della Badia Greca di Grottaferrata*, 19 (1965), 141-59; Geanakoplos, *Greek Scholars*, pp. 81-5, 89-90.

<sup>35</sup> For a list of his manuscripts see: VG, pp. 187-93. Among them are BAV Vat. Gr. 1626 (colophons ff. 404v, 422v) and Vat. Gr. 1627 (colophon f. 318) an Iliad and *Odyssey*, copied in Rome in 1477 for Cardinal Francesco Gonzaga. In 1457 he produced a copy of the Proverbs of Gregory of Cyprus for Gasparo Volterrano: BN ms grec 2524 (colophons ff. 53v, 62); Omont, *Fac-similés*, no. 30. He was probably the John 'Rosso' whom the Pope recommended to the patriarch of Venice in 1473: Fedalto, *Ricerche storiche*, doc. V, p. 120.

<sup>36</sup> A. Oleroff, 'Démétrius Trivolis, copiste et bibliophile', *Scriptorium*, 4 (1950), 260-3; VG, pp. 105-6, 236.

<sup>37</sup> Setton, 'Byzantine background', 73; Wilson, *Byzantium to Italy*, pp. 57-8. He also copied a number of manuscripts in his own hand: VG, pp. 59-60.



Venice, he imparted considerable impetus to them there, too<sup>38</sup>. This vast collection was a major reason why, in the 1490s, Aldus Manutius chose Venice as the site for his Greek printing press which produced editions of nearly all the works of the major Greek authors of antiquity before 1515<sup>39</sup>. Thus, in many ways, it was Venice, rather than Rome, which ultimately reaped the legacy of Bessarion's determination not to let the world lose the 'vestiges of these excellent and divine men'.

The activity of Bessarion and his circle was not confined to the physical reproduction and translation of texts but extended to promoting discussion and debate as to their value and meaning. His residence on the Quirinal became something of a meeting place for scholars<sup>40</sup>, an 'Academy' where Italians like Niccolò Perotti, Flavio Biondo, Lorenzo Valla and Poggio Bracciolini, could enhance their knowledge of Greek, and discuss their interests with like-minded individuals<sup>41</sup>. For the Greeks, it was a secure haven where they could live under the cardinal's protection, untroubled by financial hardship. George of Trebizond, Theodore Gaza and Andronicus Contoblacas all spent some time under Bessarion's roof and Demetrius Chalcocondyles may also have lived there for some years before 1463<sup>42</sup>. In about 1466 they were joined by Andronicus Callistus who had earlier been at Padua in the service of Pallas Strozzi, then at Bologna<sup>43</sup>. He too was regarded by both Perotti

<sup>38</sup> C.H. Clough, 'Bessarion and Greek at the court of Urbino', *Manuscripta*, 8 (1964), 160-71; Labowsky, 'Cardinale Bessarione e gli inizi', pp. 159-82; Wilson, *Byzantium to Italy*, pp. 62-7.

<sup>39</sup> Sanudo, *Diarii*, vol. 19, col. 425; Geanakoplos, *Greek Scholars*, pp. 116-20, 284-5; Wilson, *Byzantium to Italy*, pp. 127-48.

<sup>40</sup> Platina, *Panegyricus*, col. CVII: 'Frequentabant tunc quoque eius domum plenum religione, comitate et gratia, plenam ingeniis tum Graecis tum Latinis, viri ex tota curia doctissimi'.

<sup>41</sup> Perotti compiled a list of the members of Bessarion's Academy which is discussed in Mercati, *Per la cronologia*, pp. 77-81; Vespasiano, p. 185; Mohler, *Kardinal Bessarion*, vol. 1, p. 249; Geanakoplos, *Greek Scholars*, pp. 91-2; Setton, 'Byzantine background', 73-4.

<sup>42</sup> Bessarion, *Epistola ad Theodorum*, col. 685; Platina, *Panegyricus*, col. CXV; Mercati, *Per la cronologia*, pp. 77-81; *Cent dix lettres grecques*, p. 235-8; Cammelli, *I dotti bizantini. III: Demetrio Calcondila*, p. 20. George of Trebizond became increasingly estranged from Bessarion from about 1450: Monfasani, *George of Trebizond*, pp. 90-2.

<sup>43</sup> The earliest evidence for Callistus's presence in Italy is a letter of Filelfo to Pallas Strozzi, dated 1 January 1461: Filelfo, *Epistolae*, bk. XIV, kalends January 1461. His move from Bologna to Rome is clear from another of Filelfo's letters: *Cent dix lettres grecques*, p. 113; Wilson, *Byzantium to Italy*, pp. 116-17.

and Platina, the cardinal's panegyrist, as one of the members of the select circle of the Academy<sup>44</sup>.

The presence of so many learned Byzantines in Rome explains why it should have been the scene of a lively debate on Plato whose works were so influential in the development Italian humanism. The controversy dated back to 1439 when George Gemistos Plethon, one of the Greek delegates at the Council of Florence, had circulated his treatise *De Differentiis*, in which he rejected the philosophy of Aristotle and championed that of Plato<sup>45</sup>. The work was interpreted by many as an attack on Christianity, largely because Plethon made no secret of his admiration for those aspects of Plato's thought which were incompatible with Christian doctrine, particularly the concept of *metempsychosis*, the transmigration of souls. Both George Scholarios and George of Trebizond wrote strongly worded denunciations of it and Scholarios, once he was patriarch, ordered that all copies of Plethon's *De Nominibus* be burned on pain of excommunication<sup>46</sup>.

In Rome, however, George of Trebizond was in a minority in his strong antipathy to Platonism and its advocate. There were several fervent admirers of Plethon among Bessarion's Greek associates. One of the scribes who worked for him, Charitonimos Hermonymos, had delivered a laudatory funeral oration on him at Mistra in 1452<sup>47</sup> and Demetrius Rhaoul Cavaces, who lived in Rome after 1466 and who may have been

<sup>44</sup> Mercati, *Per la cronologia*, p. 78; Volaterranus, *Commentariorum*, f. 246; Platina, *Panegyricus*, col. CXV mentions 'Andronicus, Graeca et Latina lingua apprime eruditus' which is usually thought to refer to Callistus but could possibly allude to Contoblacas. In general on Callistus see: G. Cammelli, 'Andronico Callisto', *La Rinascita*, 5 (1942), 104-21, 174-214; *BH*, vol. 1, pp. L-VIII. For manuscripts copied by him, see: *VG*, p. 30; Diller, 'Three Greek scribes', 406-8; Wilson, *Byzantium to Italy*, p. 117-18.

<sup>45</sup> F. Masai, *Pléthon et le platonisme de Mistra* (Paris, 1956), pp. 327ff.; C.M. Woodhouse, *George Gemistos Plethon - The Last of the Hellenes* (Oxford, 1986), p. 156-9; Keller, 'Two Byzantine scholars', 363-6.

<sup>46</sup> Scholarios, *Oeuvres*, vol. 4, pp. 1-116; *Collectanea Trapezuntiana*, pp. 600-70, esp. pp. 600-2; Woodhouse, *Plethon*, pp. 357-79; Geanakoplos, *Greek Scholars*, pp. 85-8; Setton, 'Byzantine background', 74-5.

<sup>47</sup> Charitonimos Hermonymos, *Encomium Plethonis*, PG 160, cols. 805-12. His activity as a scribe in Mistra suggests that he was connected with literary circles: *VG*, p. 426; Diller, 'Three Greek scribes', 408-10. In the 1460s he made his way to the West and has been identified, although not entirely convincingly, with John Hermetianos, the tutor of Andreas and Manuel, the sons of Thomas Palaeologus: E. Trapp, 'Hermetianos und Hermonymos', *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik*, 27 (1978), 287-91.



a member of Bessarion's Academy<sup>48</sup>, had imbibed all Plethon's enthusiasm for Plato. At Mistra in the 1440s he had discussed the philosopher's beliefs with Scholarios and Matthew Camariotes and his jottings on the margins of several manuscripts reveal him to have shared Plethon's predilection for Zoroastrianism<sup>49</sup>. Most significant of all, Bessarion himself had been among Plethon's pupils in Mistra, and he had been strongly influenced by his teacher's platonism, although he himself remained firmly within the limits of Christian doctrine<sup>50</sup>.

Even those Byzantine scholars in Rome who wrote in defence of Aristotle, notably Theodore Gaza and Andronicus Callistus, did so in a much more conciliatory tone than that adopted by George of Trebizond. Gaza, in particular, sought to reconcile the doctrines of the two philosophers rather than to emphasise the differences in their teachings<sup>51</sup>. Bessarion took this approach still further, producing, in 1469, his *In Calumniatorem Platonis* which sought to defend Plato while at the same time avoiding the pagan overtones in Plethon's work<sup>52</sup>.

The ideas put forward in the *In Calumniatorem* were not without importance for the future of Italian humanist studies. Unlike the *De Differentiis*, it expounded Plato's philosophy in Latin and so made it accessible to a much wider readership. By stressing the points of agreement both with Aristotle and with Christian doctrine, it can only

<sup>48</sup> He was well acquainted with Bessarion. A Vatican manuscript has a marginal note recounting a conversation between him and the cardinal on Plethon's qualities as a philosopher: BAV Vat. Gr. 2236, f. 141v, edited by G. Mercati in *Bessarione*, 38 (1922), 135. He was certainly involved in scholarly pursuits in Rome. He copied several manuscripts there and made use of the books in the Vatican Library: BAV Vat. Gr. 173 (colophon ff. 342, 346v), Vat. Gr. 988 (colophon f. 1), Vat. Gr. 2238 (colophon f. 155), Vat. Gr. 1293 (colophon f. 419); VG, p. 102; Lilla, 'Gli excerpta', 68-75; E. Müntz and P. Fabre, *La bibliothèque du Vatican au XVe siècle* (Paris, 1887), p. 272.

<sup>49</sup> *Cent dix lettres grecques*, pp. 311-14; Keller, 'Two Byzantine scholars', 366-70. BAV Vat. Gr. 1293 and Ottob. Gr. 181 are particularly rich in his annotations: J. Bidez, *La tradition manuscrite et les éditions des discours de l'empereur Julien* (Paris and Ghent, 1929), pp. 76-9.

<sup>50</sup> Syropoulos, *Mémoires*, bk. V, ch. 30, p. 284; Masai, *Pléthon*, pp. 55-62; Woodhouse, *Plethon*, p. 13-16; Setton, 'Byzantine background', 75-6; P.O. Kristeller, *The Philosophy of Marsilio Ficino*, trans. V. Conant (New York, 1943), pp. 15, 27.

<sup>51</sup> Theodore Gaza, *De Fato*, ed. and trans. J.W. Taylor (Toronto, 1925); Mohler, *Kardinal Bessarion*, vol. 3, pp. 170-203.

<sup>52</sup> J.W. Taylor, 'Bessarion the mediator', *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philosophical Association*, 55 (1924), 120-7. The Greek and Latin versions of the *In Calumniatorem* form vol. 2 of Mohler, *Kardinal Bessarion*.

have helped to make its study respectable. Moreover, it may even have influenced the famous Marsilio Ficino, translator of the *Dialogues* and leading light of the Medicean 'Platonic Academy' at Careggi. Ficino is known to have read and admired the *In Calumniatorem*, even though he had already developed his own reconciliation of Plato with Christianity<sup>53</sup>, so that it is possible that the ideas of Bessarion's circle played some part in the growing influence of Platonic ideas on political thought in Florence<sup>54</sup>.

## 2. Beyond the Alps

While the contribution of Greek exiles to the dissemination of their language and literature in Italy during the fifteenth century is well known, it might be thought that they had no impact beyond the Alps. However, it would be wrong to assume that this was barren ground, for even here, Bruni's picture of seven hundred years of ignorance of Greek was not wholly true and there were people who took an interest in the language. Moreover, a scattered body of evidence, drawn both from archival and literary sources, reveals that a small number of hardy individuals did cross the Alps to take advantage of this and in doing so made some contribution to the development of Greek studies there.

While most Western European intellectuals knew no Greek in the later Middle Ages, there was a small number who attained a remarkably high standard of proficiency. During the thirteenth century the Flemish William of Moerbeke translated most of the works of Aristotle into Latin, many for the first time<sup>55</sup>. An English bishop, Robert Grosseteste, produced numerous translations, including the *De Divinis Nominibus* of Dionysius the Areopagite and the Franciscan, Roger Bacon, even wrote a grammar of the Greek language<sup>56</sup>.

<sup>53</sup> Woodhouse, *Plethon*, pp. 372-4; Setton, 'Byzantine background', 75-6; P.O. Kristeller, *The Philosophy of Marsilio Ficino*, trans. V. Conant (New York, 1943), pp. 15, 27.

<sup>54</sup> On the influence of Platonism on political ideas see: A.M. Brown, 'Platonism in fifteenth century Florence and its contribution to early modern political thought', *Journal of Modern History*, 58 (1986), 383-413.

<sup>55</sup> L. Minio-Paluello, 'Guglielmo di Moerbeke, traduttore della "Poetica" di Aristotele (1278)', *Rivista di Filosofia Neoscolastica*, 39 (1947), 1-19; Setton, 'Byzantine background', 62-3, n. 11.

<sup>56</sup> S. Harrison-Thomson, *The Writings of Robert Grosseteste* (Cambridge, 1940), pp. 42-71; *The Greek Grammar of Roger Bacon*, ed. E. Nolan and S.A. Hirsch (Cambridge, 1902); Setton, 'Byzantine background', 60-1. There may well have been



Intellectual giants like these were, of course, the exception rather than the rule but there were others who took an interest in Greek, even if they never managed to learn it. King John I of Aragon was an avid collector of Latin translations of the Greek classics and many other people possessed books in or about Greek<sup>57</sup>. That there were those who tried to learn a little is suggested by the survival of Graeco-Latin lexicons and by the short sentences and signatures in Greek which adorn manuscripts of the period, however amateurish they may be<sup>58</sup>.

By the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries many who shared this interest were frustrated by the lack of provision for teaching Greek in European universities. The decree of the Council of Vienne in 1312 that teaching posts in Greek should be established in Rome, Bologna, Paris, Oxford and Salamanca was welcomed by the Spanish scholar Ramon Lull and by the then bishop of Durham, Richard de Bury. The latter was particularly disappointed when it was never put into effect and penned a strongly worded diatribe on the importance of learning Greek<sup>59</sup>. Little had changed a century later. Gregorio da Tiferno failed in his plan to introduce lectures on Greek into the curriculum of the university during a visit to Paris in 1458, and Piero del Monte, Papal nuncio in England, who had hoped to continue his study of Greek in London, had to give up the idea because he could not find any books or anyone qualified to teach

others in England with such an advanced knowledge, such as the older contemporary referred to by Bacon, *Opera*, pp. 88-9, 94. On the other hand many of those credited with a knowledge of Greek by later writers may not, in fact, have known any. The sixteenth century antiquarian Leland claimed that John Bate, a Carmelite of York in the early fifteenth century was learned in Greek but he is supported by no contemporary evidence: John Leland, *De Scriptoribus Britannicis* (Oxford, 1709), pp. 434-5. In general see: R. Weiss, 'The Study of Greek in England during the fourteenth century', *Rinascimento*, 2 (1951), 209-39.

<sup>57</sup> Setton, 'Byzantine background', 64-9. Two monks of the English abbey of Ramsey owned books in Greek: *Chronicon Abbatiae Ramesiensis*, ed. D. McRay, RS 83 (London, 1886), p. 365.

<sup>58</sup> M.R. James, 'A Graeco-Latin lexicon of the thirteenth century', *Mélanges offerts à M. Émile Chatelain* (Paris, 1910), pp. 396-411; M.R. James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Maclean Collection of Manuscripts in the Fitzwilliam Museum* (Cambridge, 1912), p. 325; James, *Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts of Corpus Christi College*, vol. 2, no. 480, p. 422.

<sup>59</sup> Richard de Bury, *Philobiblion*, ed. and trans. E.C. Thomas (Oxford, 1970), ch. 10, p. 115; R. Weiss, 'England and the decree of the Council of Vienne on the teaching of Greek, Arabic, Hebrew and Syriac', *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance*, 14 (1952), 1-9; N. Denholm-Young, 'Richard de Bury', *Collected Papers on Medieval Subjects* (Oxford, 1946), pp. 1-25.

him. It was not until the last decade of the century or early in the next that regular lectureships in Greek were established in Spanish, French and English universities<sup>60</sup>.

Those who did wish to learn Greek in this period usually had to go abroad. Some went to Greece, as did Grosseteste's contemporary, John of Basingstoke, who spent time in Athens and William Lily, the first headmaster of St. Paul's school in London who acquired his Greek on Rhodes<sup>61</sup>. It was much more common, however, to go to Italy. William Selling, the Prior of Christchurch, Canterbury, studied at Bologna and by 1475 had the reputation of being learned in Greek<sup>62</sup>. Ayres Barbosa came from Portugal to be instructed by Poliziano at Florence and William Grey became a pupil of Guarino da Verona<sup>63</sup>. When they returned to their own countries, those who had been in Italy sometimes passed on their new-found knowledge by giving lectures on Greek or making Latin translations of Greek texts<sup>64</sup>.

In Italy, these students could come into contact with the Constantinopolitan refugees. William Grocyn and Thomas Linacre were instructed by Demetrius Chalcocondyles in Florence and John Reuchlin of Basle, an English Earl and a Hungarian bishop were among those who

<sup>60</sup> Weiss, *Humanism*, pp. 26, 186; A. Thomas, 'Un document inédit sur la présence à Paris de l'humaniste, Grégoire Tifernas (nov. 1458)', *Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres. Comptes Rendus* (Paris, 1910), pp. 636-40; Knös, *Un ambassadeur*, pp. 81-101; Geanakoplos, *Greek Scholars*, p. 233; A.B. Cobban, *The Medieval English Universities: Oxford and Cambridge to c.1500* (Aldershot, 1988), pp. 247-51.

<sup>61</sup> Matthew Paris, *Chronica Maiora*, vol. 5, pp. 284-7; V.J. Flynn, 'The intellectual life of fifteenth century Rhodes', *Traditio*, 2 (1944), 239-55.

<sup>62</sup> *Litterae Cantuariensis*, vol. 3, p. 291; Weiss, *Humanism*, p. 154; A. Sorbelli, *Storia della università di Bologna*, vol. 1, *Il medio evo* (Bologna, 1940), p. 144. His tombstone, erected after his death in 1494 describes him as being 'Graeca etque Latina lingua perdoctus': W. Somner, *The Antiquities of Canterbury* (London, 1703), p. 63.

<sup>63</sup> Vespasiano, pp. 184-6; Geanakoplos, *Greek Scholars*, p. 230; Weiss, *Humanism*, pp. 86-91. There is, however, no evidence that Grey ever actually learned Greek.

<sup>64</sup> William Grocyn and Prior Selling taught some Greek at Oxford and Canterbury: BL Cotton Julius F.VII, f. 118; Erasmus, *Correspondence*, vol. 1, no. 118, pp. 235-6; M. Burrows, 'Linacre's catalogue of Grocyn's books, followed by a memoir of Grocyn', *Collectanea*, vol. 2, *Oxford Historical Society*, 16 (Oxford, 1890), pp. 347-8; Weiss, *Humanism*, p. 157. A translation by Selling of a sermon of St. John Chrysostom is preserved in BL Additional ms 15673, f. 28v: 'Finit sermo quidam Sancti Chrysostomi, que e Greco in Latinam reduxit reverendus in Christo pater Willelmus Sellyng, Prior ecclesie Christi Cantuariensis'. Thomas Linacre made a translation of Proclus's *Sphaera*: STC 20398.3.



thronged the lectures of John Argyropoulos<sup>65</sup>. William Selling and the Spaniard, Antonio de Lebrixa, who later wrote on Greek pronunciation at the University of Alcalà, may have studied under Andronicus Callistus since they both were at Bologna at around the time he was teaching there<sup>66</sup>. John Shirwood, archdeacon of Richmond, benefitted from the industry of Bessarion's scribe, John Rhossos. While in Rome in 1476 he bought one of the books copied by him, a grammar of Theodore Gaza<sup>67</sup>.

It therefore seems likely that, if the small group of people who were interested in learning Greek were prepared to go to Italy to take advantage of the presence of Byzantine scribes and scholars, they would also have welcomed the emigres in their own countries. Of course, it has to be stressed that north of the Alps there was nothing on the scale of the widespread enthusiasm that Manuel Chrysoloras encountered in Italy in 1397. There is no evidence that Chrysoloras was pressed to teach Greek while on his travels to Paris, London, Salisbury and the Spanish kingdoms in the early 1400s. Neither does anyone seem to have taken advantage of the sojourn of the Cretan scholar, Peter Philarges, at Norwich, Oxford and Paris in the late fourteenth century<sup>68</sup>.

Nevertheless, the interest existed and there are instances of Greeks being used as a source of information on their language. As early as the thirteenth century, Robert Grosseteste had invited several South Italian Greeks over to England to assist him in his studies and one of them, Nicolas 'Grecus' had co-operated with him in his translation of Suidas's *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*<sup>69</sup>. In 1400, some

<sup>65</sup> Erasmus, *Correspondence*, vol. 4, no. 520, pp. 201-2; Vespasiano, pp. 192, 336; Börner, *De Doctis Hominibus*, p. 42, n. 1 quoting Reuchlin's, *Rudimenta Hebraica*, I, 20.

<sup>66</sup> I. Bywater, *The Erasmus Pronunciation of Greek and its Precursors* (London, 1908), pp. 14-18; Weiss, *Humanism*, p. 154.

<sup>67</sup> CUL II.IV.16; *Catalogue of the Manuscripts Preserved in the Library of the University of Cambridge*, vol. 3 (Cambridge, 1858), no. 1813, pp. 453-4.

<sup>68</sup> Cammelli, *I dotti bizantini. I: Manuele Crisolora*, pp. 143-51; *Eulogium Historiarum*, vol. 3, p. 415; Weiss, 'Study of Greek in England', 234-8. The 'Manuell Chrysoloras de Grecia' who appears in the English treasury records for 1455-6 cannot be the famous Chrysoloras, who had died in 1415, but must have been a member of the same family: PRO E403/807, E404/70/3/66; Gray, 'Greek visitors', p. 86.

<sup>69</sup> Bacon, *Opera*, pp. 91, 434; Matthew Paris, *Chronica Maiora*, vol. 4, p. 233; Russell, *Dictionary of Writers*, p. 89. Robertus 'Grecus', who appears as a witness to an institution in Grosseteste's register, was probably another of these Greeks: *Rotuli Roberti Grosseteste, Episcopi Lincolniensis*, ed. F.N. Davis, *Canterbury and York Society*, 10 (London, 1913), p. 247.

Englishmen had taken advantage of the presence of the retinue of Manuel II in London to ask questions about their language and the relationship between the spoken and written tongues. John Metham claimed that one of his poems was originally a Greek work, which he had translated with the assistance of a Greek whom he had met at Norwich<sup>70</sup>. Moreover, as has been outlined in a previous chapter, it was often those who had some interest in Greek who were to be found assisting the refugees after 1453<sup>71</sup>.

From the fifteenth century before 1472, there are two possible examples of Greeks living outside Italy who obtained their living from literary activities. The first is Thomas Frank, the physician first of Cardinal Beaufort and later of the French king, Charles VII. While the documents give no indication that he served these patrons in any other capacity than that of medical advisor<sup>72</sup>, it is nonetheless significant that he had connections with literary circles in Italy. He was a regular correspondent with Francesco Filelfo after 1454. The Italian humanist clearly held him in high regard, addressing him as 'Philosophus' and going so far as to seek his advice on whether to dedicate a volume of poems to the French king<sup>73</sup>. Among his other literary contacts were Filelfo's son, Giovanni Mario who probably visited him in France, and Maffeo Vegio who dedicated to him his work *Dyalogus Veritatis et*

<sup>70</sup> GL ms 9531/10, f. 49v (orig. 45v); Sturge, *Cuthbert Tunstall*, p. 133; Metham, *Romance of Amoryus and Cleopes*, p. 303: 'And as yt fortunyd, ther come rydyng to Norwyche, a Greke, to home I schewyd in specyal thys fforsayd boke and he iche word, bothe gret and smal, in Latyne yt expungyd'.

<sup>71</sup> As in the case of William Grey, bishop of Ely, who issued indulgences for three Byzantine refugees. He had studied under Guarino da Verona and possessed at least one Greek book. See above p. 70. Not all those who assisted the refugees were learned men, however. Archbishop William Booth who issued the indulgences reproduced in Appendix II, below p. 193, was described by Gascoigne, *Loci et Libro Veritatum*, p. 52 as 'nec ... bonus grammaticus, nec scientificus, nec virtuosus reputatus, nec graduatus sed legista juris regni ...'. Clearly Gascoigne did not like Booth but this obviously biased testimony is not refuted by any evidence of scholarly exertion on the archbishop's part.

<sup>72</sup> AN JJ181, no. XLV, f. 24v; CPL, vol. 9, pp. 112, 186; Hamy, 'Thomas de Coron', 199. On Thomas Frank see also above pp. 35, 61, 90ff and below pp. 164, 167ff.

<sup>73</sup> *Cent dix lettres grecques*, pp. 73-7; Filelfo, *Epistolae* (1506), bk. XII, 7 kalends November 1455, bk. XIII, ides March 1456. Filelfo also refers to letters despatched to him by Thomas Frank, although these do not appear to have survived: Ibid. bk. XII, pridie kalends August 1455 and pridie kalends January 1455.



*Philalithis*<sup>74</sup>. Charles, duke of Orleans, an accomplished poet, presented him with a signet ring. He was a friend of the bibliophile Zenone da Castiglione, bishop of Bayeux and corresponded with that prelate's Milanese secretary, Rolando Talenti<sup>75</sup>.

Thomas's literary activities may have played some part in the decision of Henry Beaufort to employ him and to present him to an English benefice. The cardinal did have some interest in learning. He invited the Italian humanist, Poggio, to England in 1418 and left five hundred marks in his will towards the completion of the divinity school at Oxford<sup>76</sup>. On the other hand there is no evidence for Beaufort's showing any specific interest in Greek nor for Thomas Frank's having taught it while in London and Tours. Thus, while it is possible that Thomas's Greek background secured him Beaufort's favour, this cannot be conclusively proven.

A second example from before 1472 is equally tentative, though for other reasons. Among the Greek manuscripts in the University of Leiden is a Demosthenes whose colophon states that it was copied in 1468 by an individual who described himself as 'Emmanuel of Constantinople'. That this manuscript may have been written in England is suggested by the fact that it was dedicated to George Neville, archbishop of York<sup>77</sup>.

Neville was not an unlikely employer for a Byzantine scribe, since he too was a patron of education. He served twice as chancellor of

<sup>74</sup> Ibid. bk. XIII, 10 kalends March 1456 and 15 kalends June 1456; BN ms latin 3127, f. 176: 'Dyalogus veritatis et philalithis ad egregie virtutis virum, Thomam Francum, Christianissimi Regis prothopisicum'. See also BN ms latin 14978, f. 303 and Bibliothèque Mazarine, Paris ms 960, f. 82.

<sup>75</sup> M.E. Babelon, 'Communication', *Bulletin de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France*, 58 (1897), 90. Thomas and Zenone are connected in a note dated 6 March 1454 on the flyleaf of BAV Reg. Lat. 1321. An undated letter of Talenti to Thomas also mentions his friendship with the bishop. However, an attempt on the basis of this letter to link Thomas with Humphrey, duke of Gloucester, is unconvincing in view of his known association with Beaufort, médecin de Charles VII. A. Thomas, 'Nouveaux documents sur Thomas le Franc, protecteur de l'humanisme', *Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres. Comptes Rendus* (Paris, 1911), pp. 671-676, esp. pp. 673-5 citing Bibliothèque du Chapitre de Bayeux, no. 5, ff. 78-78v; K.H. Vickers, *Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester* (London, 1907), p. 109; Weiss, *Humanism*, pp. 39-70.

<sup>76</sup> Weiss, *Humanism*, p. 13; Vickers, *Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester*, p. 397.

<sup>77</sup> Leiden ms Voss. Graec. 56, described by M.R. James, 'The scribe of the Leicester Codex', *Journal of Theological Studies*, 5 (1904), 445-7.

the University of Oxford and founded a college for chantry priests in York<sup>78</sup>. His interests may even have extended to Greek for there appear on manuscripts two examples of what is thought to be his Greek writing although it is unlikely that he ever learned enough to read the Leiden Demosthenes<sup>79</sup>. He was a close friend of John Shirwood, the archdeacon of Richmond and later bishop of Durham who purchased one of John Rhossos's manuscripts while in Rome and who later went on to learn Greek to a high standard<sup>80</sup>. Moreover, both Neville and Shirwood were among those who used their ecclesiastical office to help Byzantine refugees by issuing letters of indulgence on their behalf<sup>81</sup>.

It is not impossible, therefore, that this scribe was retained by Neville to copy Greek manuscripts. Thanks to the researches of M.R. James, several others are now known to have been copied by Manuel. Much of his output consisted of religious texts, especially the Gospels and the Psalms<sup>82</sup>, but it is noteworthy that he also produced the works of

<sup>78</sup> CPR (1461-7), p. 47; Weiss, *Humanism*, pp. 141-8. He presented at least one book to the University of Oxford: Mynors, *Catalogue of the Manuscripts*, no. 117, pp. 95-6.

<sup>79</sup> The word ἀρχιεπισκόπου appears on BL Sloane 278, f. 1. A note by M.R. James dated 5 October 1921 is attached to the manuscript, saying that there is a similar 'signature' on York Chapter Library ms XVI, Q7. James may have thought that these words had been written by the scribe, Manuel of Constantinople but Weiss suggests that since they seem to be in an inexperienced hand, they are more likely to have been written by Neville: Weiss, *Humanism*, p. 142.

<sup>80</sup> CUL li.IV.16; *Catalogue of the Manuscripts Preserved in the Library of the University of Cambridge*, vol. 3, no. 1813, pp. 453-4. He knew enough Greek by 1484 for the English king, Richard III, to mention it in a letter to the Pope: BL Harley 433, f. 250v; *Foedera*, vol. 5, pt. III, p. 142 (= XII, 214); Weiss, *Humanism*, pp. 150-2. On John Rhossos see above p. 127.

<sup>81</sup> BI Reg. 21, ff. 7A-7Av; John Rylands Library, Manchester ms Latin 333, ff. 63v-64; Hamilton-Thompson, 'Register of the archdeacons, pt. 2', no. 299, 127. See also above p. 68.

<sup>82</sup> The Leicester Codex of the New Testament is thought to have been copied by him: James, 'The scribe of the Leicester Codex', 445-7; J. Rendal Harris, *The Origin of the Leicester Codex of the New Testament* (London, 1887). For Psalters produced by him see: M.R. James, 'Two more manuscripts written by the scribe of the Leicester Codex', *Journal of Theological Studies*, 11 (1910), 291-2; M.R. James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Gonville and Caius College*, vol. 1 (Cambridge, 1907), no. 348, pp. 392-3; M.R. James, *The Western Manuscripts in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge - A Descriptive Catalogue*, vol. 3 (Cambridge, 1902), no. 1186, pp. 197-9.



classical authors like Demosthenes, Plato and Aristotle<sup>83</sup>. One wonders who these were for, in view of the fact that so few people could have read them<sup>84</sup>.

It is unfortunate, however, that there is very little specific evidence about Manuel of Constantinople other than the Leiden colophon for none of his other manuscripts are signed in this way. In 1929 Howard Gray suggested that he was to be identified with the 'Emanuel of Constantinople' who appeared in the English treasury records for 1456, when Henry VI ordered his treasurer to reimburse the bishop of Winchester for some money he had paid to this person<sup>85</sup>. Gray pointed out that this bishop of Winchester, William Waynflete, may, like Neville, have had some interest in Greek. According to a sixteenth century writer, he encouraged its study at Magdalen College, his foundation in Oxford<sup>86</sup>.

Certainly, it is possible that this scribe was in England by 1456 and remained until 1468 or after but this cannot be taken as definite. Manuel was one of the commonest Byzantine names so that, in the absence of any surname, it must remain in doubt whether the two

<sup>83</sup> Durham Cathedral Library mss C.i.15 and C.iv.2 described in H.D. Hughes, *A History of Durham Cathedral Library* (Durham, 1925), p. 20. For a Homer copied by him see: James, *Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts of Corpus Christi College*, vol. 1, no. 81, p. 164. Suidas's *Lexicon* was copied by him on several occasions: Corpus Christi College, Oxford ms 76 and 77; BL Harley 3100; James, 'Two more manuscripts', 291-2; M.R. James, 'Another book written by the scribe of the Leicester Codex', *Journal of Theological Studies*, 12 (1911), 465-6. For a complete list of his manuscripts see: Weiss, *Humanism*, p. 145; VG, pp. 196-7.

<sup>84</sup> Weiss, *Humanism*, p. 147, n. 5; Gray, 'Greek visitors', 112 suggests a link with William Grocyn on the grounds that Corpus Christi College, Oxford nos. 76 and 77, which were partly copied by Manuel, belonged to him. However, there is no evidence for Manuel being active after 1468 which makes him rather early to have been employed by Grocyn.

<sup>85</sup> PRO E404/70/3/43; E403/807. Gray, 'Greek visitors', p. 107: '... there can be no doubt that the Emmanuel of Constantinople who wrote the Leyden and the other manuscripts was the "certain Emanuel, knight of Constantinople", to whom the bishop of Winchester had, before 26 April 1456, paid ten marks at the command of King and Council ...'.

<sup>86</sup> Gray, 'Greek visitors', p. 110, n. 119 quoting Laurentius Humphridus, *Epistolae de Graecis Literis et Homeri Lectione ...*, in Hadrianus Junius, *Copiae Cornu ...* (Basle, 1558). However the statement by S. Runciman, *The Great Church in Captivity* (Cambridge, 1968), p. 289 that Manuel of Constantinople helped Waynflete to draft the statutes for Eton, has no basis in fact whatever.

Manuels were the same person<sup>87</sup>. Moreover, the lack of any statement by the scribe in a colophon as to where he copied his manuscripts leaves further room for doubt as to whether he was working in England at all. Thus, as in the case of Thomas Frank, Manuel of Constantinople has to remain only a possible example of a Byzantine scholar promoting the study of Greek outside Italy during the fifteenth century.

Solid evidence for such activity is only to be found from 1472, after the death of Cardinal Bessarion. As has been discussed in a previous chapter, the loss of their patron created some difficulties for the Greek exiles living in Rome and for the scholars of the cardinal's household. Even though Sixtus IV continued to promote Greek studies in the city, summoning John Argyropoulos to Rome and encouraging translations into Latin, many of Bessarion's former associates felt compelled to leave. Theodore Gaza departed for Southern Italy in 1473, allegedly incensed by Sixtus's failure to pay him properly for his translation of Aristotle's *De Animalibus*<sup>88</sup>. It was in the following years that three other former members of the cardinal's household, Andronicus Contoblacas, Andronicus Callistus and George Hermonymos, appear as teachers of Greek outside Italy.

Contoblacas was apparently the first to cross the Alps. His earlier career had possibly included a spell at Bologna where he may have been the 'Andronico Constantropolitano' who was enrolled among the professors and readers in the Humanities from 1458 until 1466. He then spent some time enjoying the hospitality of Bessarion in Rome but later the cardinal, for some reason, accused him of ingratitude<sup>89</sup>. By 1473 or 1474 he had established himself in Basle where he had found a new patron in the person of the famous John Reuchlin whom he came to number among his pupils<sup>90</sup>.

Callistus had left Rome during the summer of 1471. His reasons for going were probably not poverty, as suggested by one biographer<sup>91</sup>, since he was a respected member of the so-called Academy, but to take

<sup>87</sup> The name 'Manuel of Constantinople' also occurs frequently in French documents as belonging to a Byzantine refugee: see above p. 73, for example. For a discussion of the problem see Weiss, *Humanism*, pp. 124-5; Lee, *Sixtus IV*, pp. 171-4.

<sup>88</sup> Börner, *De Doctis Hominibus*, pp. 235-8; Sorbelli, *Storia della università di Bologna*, p. 254, n. 1.

<sup>89</sup> Börner, *De Doctis Hominibus*, p. 142, n. 1; Schmitt, 'Eine unbekannte Rede', 264-77. For a letter of Contoblacas to Reuchlin see: *Cent dix lettres grecques*, p. 220.

<sup>91</sup> Volaterranus, *Commentariorum*, f. 246.



advantage of the fact that Argyropoulos had left the chair of Greek at the Florentine Studium vacant. Bessarion wrote to Lorenzo de' Medici, commending his protégé and Callistus continued to maintain contact with his patron even after his departure from Rome<sup>92</sup>. He did not stay in Florence for many years after Bessarion's death, however, and early in 1475 he was on his way to Milan. There he sold all his books and departed in company with a 'signore della Morea'<sup>93</sup>. By March of the following year he was in London<sup>94</sup>.

No doubt Callistus had hopes of finding employment in London as Contoblacas had in Basle<sup>95</sup> and he may have had William Selling or George Neville in mind as possible patrons. This seems all the more likely when one bears in mind that he had been at Bologna at the same time as Selling and that Neville's interest in Greek studies may not have been unknown in Bessarion's household in Rome<sup>96</sup>.

If, however, it was Neville whose reputation had drawn Callistus to London, the Byzantine would have been disappointed. The archbishop of York had fallen from grace as a result of his participation in the abortive revolt of his brother, the earl of Warwick. In April 1472 he had been arrested and imprisoned in the castle of Hammes near Calais<sup>97</sup>. His downfall effectively ended his career as a patron of letters.

Curiously enough, it was these events which led to the departure from Italy of a third former member of Bessarion's household, George Hermonymos. According to a letter written by Andronicus Callistus from

<sup>92</sup> For the text of Bessarion's letter to Lorenzo de' Medici see: Cammelli, 'Andronico Callisto', 179-80. Callistus journeyed to Bologna in the spring of 1472 to pay his respects to Bessarion who had stopped off there on his journey to France: Noiret, 'Huit lettres', no. V, 492; Cammelli, *I dotti bizantini. III: Demetrio Calcondila*, pp. 45-7.

<sup>93</sup> His journey to Milan is mentioned in a letter of Duke Galeazzo Maria Sforza dated 21 March 1475, text in: Cammelli, 'Andronico Callisto', 202-3. His disposal of his books is described in a letter of 10 November 1476 from Giovanni Francesco della Torre to Lorenzo de' Medici, text in *BH*, vol. 1, pp. LIV-V.

<sup>94</sup> Callistus, *Epistola ad Georgium*, col. 1020.

<sup>95</sup> It is worth remembering that two of Callistus's fellow-scholars, Constantine Lascaris and Michael Apostolis had both expressed a desire to go to England: Apostolis, *Lettres*, no. 92, p. 113; Iriarte, *Regiae Bibliothecae*, p. 290.

<sup>96</sup> Weiss, *Humanism*, p. 154. Bessarion was apparently acquainted with Neville: *Calendar of State Papers (Milan)*, ed. A.B. Hinds, vol. 1 (London, 1912), no. 240, p. 169.

<sup>97</sup> John Warkworth, *A Chronicle of the First Thirteen Years of the Reign of King Edward IV*, ed. J.O. Halliwell, *Camden Society*, 10 (London, 1839), pp. 15, 24-5; *Paston Letters*, vol. 3, no. 692, p. 39, no. 752, p. 102; Wolffe, *Henry VI*, pp. 339-48.

London, the Pope selected Hermonymos to go to England to negotiate the archbishop's release<sup>98</sup>.

At first sight it seems difficult to explain why a Greek should have been chosen for this particular mission. Roberto Weiss suggests that Hermonymos was selected on account of his linguistic skills, yet that hardly seems an adequate explanation in this case when the Pope would have had plenty of far better Latin-speakers at his disposal<sup>99</sup>. The real reason may lie in the earlier association between these three individuals. Bessarion, Hermonymos and Neville. Bessarion was almost certainly aware of Neville's arrest in April 1472 because at that time he had just been appointed Papal legate to the kingdoms of France and England. The arrest of such a high-ranking prelate within his sphere of influence would have been a matter of great concern to him for one of the reasons why he had been despatched in the first place had been to resolve a similar situation in France, where Louis XI had imprisoned the cardinal bishop of Evreux<sup>100</sup>.

Moreover Bessarion was at least acquainted with Neville and so would not have been indifferent to his fate. According to Pietro Aliprando, the Milanese ambassador in Paris, Neville was not only known to the Greek cardinal but the two were good friends<sup>101</sup>. Some doubt has been cast on this statement on the grounds that Neville, so far as is known, never went further from his native land than Calais while Bessarion never visited England<sup>102</sup>. It is not impossible, however, that they exchanged letters even if the correspondence has not survived.

In the event Bessarion was unable to do much to help Neville and he died on the return journey to Rome. Yet if he had taken some interest in Neville's fate before his death, it might have led the Pope to choose one of Bessarion's associates as envoy to London. Hermonymos was

<sup>98</sup> Callistus, *Epistola ad Georgium*, col. 1017.

<sup>99</sup> Weiss, *Humanism*, p. 145.

<sup>100</sup> His expenses for the journey were paid to him on 7 April 1472: ASVat Introitus et Exitus 487, f. 164v (orig. 186v); Setton, *Papacy and Levant*, vol. 2, p. 315, n. 3; Pastor, *History of the Popes*, vol. 4, pp. 104-5, 219-21. On Bessarion's mission to France see above p. 105.

<sup>101</sup> In a letter of 25 November 1472: *Calendar of State Papers (Milan)*, vol. 1, no. 240, p. 169.

<sup>102</sup> M. Lowry, 'John Rous and the survival of the Neville circle', *Viator*, 19 (1988), 327-38, esp. 333-4.



apparently at least acquainted with the cardinal<sup>103</sup> and it is very likely that, as a Greek living in Rome, he was a member of Bessarion's household. This is further suggested by the fact that another member of his family, Charitonimos Hermonymos, worked as one of the cardinal's scribes<sup>104</sup>. Sixtus may have hoped, therefore, that Hermonymos would successfully carry out the task that Bessarion had left uncompleted.

Events proved him right. Hermonymos set out from Rome in mid-1473 and, according to Callistus, rapidly succeeded in obtaining Neville's freedom<sup>105</sup>. No English source mentions his part in the affair but there can be no doubt that the archbishop was released, for he received a royal pardon on 11 November 1474. He was certainly free one year later, when he was once more exercising his ecclesiastical office by confirming the election of an abbot<sup>106</sup>.

Thus it came about that in the mid-1470s three associates of Cardinal Bessarion, whose household had been at the very heart of the revival of Greek studies in Italy, came to spend some time in Basle and London. However, whereas Basle was destined in later years to become a centre for Greek scholarship, it is open to question whether the visits of Hermonymos and Callistus had any significance for the origins of Greek studies in England.

In Callistus's case there was almost certainly no long term result of his visit because his letter of March 1476 is the last evidence for his being alive. According to Constantine Lascaris, he died in England, bereft

<sup>103</sup> Bodleian Library, Oxford ms Grabe 30, f. 115v contains a description of Bessarion from a dream in which Hermonymos saw the cardinal dressed in his red robes. I am indebted for this reference to Maria Kalatzi who has recently embarked on a Ph.D. thesis on Hermonymos. For the time being, further information on him can be found in: H. Omont, 'Georges Hermonyme de Sparte, maître de Grec à Paris et copiste des manuscrits', *Mémoires de la Société d'Histoire de Paris et de l'Ile-de-France*, 12 (1885), 65-98; J. Irigoin, 'Georges Hermonyme de Sparte: ses manuscrits et son enseignement à Paris', *Bulletin de l'Association Guillaume Budé*, 36 (1977), 22-7.

<sup>104</sup> On Charitonimos Hermonymos see: Trapp, 'Hermetianos und Hermonymos', 287-91; Diller, 'Three Greek scribes', 408-10. For a different view concerning the identity of these scribes, see the forthcoming article by Maria Kalatzi, *Th*, 26 (1996).

<sup>105</sup> A copy of his safe-conduct from Rome, dated 28 June 1473, is preserved in ASVat Reg. Vat. 662, f. 50; Callistus, *Epistola ad Georgium*, col. 1017.

<sup>106</sup> CPR (1467-77), pp. 470, 550.

of friends<sup>107</sup>. In the absence of any further evidence on his activities there, it is reasonable to conclude that his death occurred in, or shortly after, 1476.

Hermonymos also fared badly in London. After Neville's release, he himself was arrested when the Italian merchants in London accused him of spying for George Palaeologus Dishypatos, a Greek naval captain in the service of Louis XI. He remained incarcerated for three months and was sentenced to pay a fine of a thousand pounds. His plight prompted Callistus to write on his behalf to Dishypatos, imploring him to help pay the fine<sup>108</sup>. Not surprisingly Hermonymos left London soon after his release and went to France, possibly so that he could enjoy the protection of his influential compatriot there. He retained no fond memories of the English, anathematising them in a marginal note on one of his manuscripts for having unjustly imprisoned him. It is hardly surprising, therefore, that recent accounts of these events should portray them as showing how little interest there was in Greek in late fifteenth century England<sup>109</sup>.

Moreover, Hermonymos's subsequent career in Paris is sometimes seen in similarly negative terms, largely as a result of some rather unkind comments made about him by contemporaries. He was in France as early as June 1476<sup>110</sup> and two years later he had established himself as a copyist and teacher of Greek in Paris. He was known there to Erasmus and provided instruction and manuscripts to Guillaume Budé but he did

<sup>107</sup> Iriarte, *Regiae Bibliothecae*, p. 291; Volaterranus, *Commentariorum*, f. 246 says that he died in Paris but the testimony of Lascaris fits in with that of the letter of March 1476 as well as having been written nearer to the event: Weiss, *Humanism*, pp. 141-5.

<sup>108</sup> All these details come from Callistus, *Epistola ad Georgium*, col. 1018-20. On George Palaeologus Dishypatos see below p. 175ff.

<sup>109</sup> BL Royal 9E II, f. 158, pointed out to me by Maria Kalatzi; D. Hay, 'England and the humanities in the fifteenth century', *Itinerarium Italicum - The Profile of the Italian Renaissance in the Mirror of its European Transformations: Dedicated to Paul Oskar Kristeller on the Occasion of his 70th Birthday* (Leiden, 1975), pp. 305-67, esp. p. 361.

<sup>110</sup> He copied a manuscript of the poems of Quintus of Smyrna during that month and wrote in the colophon that he had recently come from England, where he had been sent to secure the freedom of the archbishop of York: Omont, 'Georges Hermonyme', no. 55, p. 91.



not earn their esteem. Erasmus dismissed him as an inept tutor<sup>111</sup> and Budé claimed that Hermonymos used to teach him one day the opposite of whatever he had told him the day before and persuade him to buy manuscripts that he did not want<sup>112</sup>. Louis Le Roy, Budé's biographer, dismissed Hermonymos as a 'homo mediocris' who was only admired because there was no one else in France capable of teaching Greek<sup>113</sup>.

This last comment, however, gives the key to the importance of Hermonymos's career in Paris. He was the first to teach Greek there on a regular basis there so that even Budé had to admit that he picked up the rudiments of pronunciation from him<sup>114</sup>. But it was Hermonymos's activities as a copyist that really promoted Greek studies in France. He was extremely prolific. Henri Omont identified seventy four manuscripts in his hand and many more are now known to exist<sup>115</sup>. By simply reproducing so many texts, including the works of classical authors like Plutarch, Thucydides, Xenophon and Demosthenes, Hermonymos must have provided the some of the first copies of these texts to have been available to the scholars of Paris.

These came into the possession of numerous influential scholars and statesmen. Besides Budé, John Reuchlin, the pupil of Andronicus Contoblacas, was among his patrons<sup>116</sup> as were David Chambellan, Cardinal Charles de Bourbon, Tristan de Salazar, archbishop of Sens and

<sup>111</sup> Desiderius Erasmus, *Catalogus Lucubrationum, Opera Omnia*, vol. 1 (Leiden, 1703), at beginning of vol., no page ref.: 'Graece balbutiebat ... ut neque potuisset docere si voluisset, neque voluisset si potuisset'.

<sup>112</sup> Guillaume Budé, *Opera Omnia* (Basle, 1557), vol. 1, p. 362. French translation of the passage in Omont, 'Georges Hermonyme', 69. Among the many manuscripts copied by Hermonymos for Budé was CUL LI.II.13; *Catalogue of the Manuscripts Preserved in the Library of the University of Cambridge*, vol. 4, no. 2161, p. 27; Omont, 'Georges Hermonyme', no. 3, p. 75.

<sup>113</sup> Louis Le Roy, *G. Budaei Viri Clarissimi Vita* (Paris, 1542), pp. 10-11.

<sup>114</sup> Budé, *Opera*, vol. 1, p. 362.

<sup>115</sup> Omont, 'Georges Hermonyme', 74-97; *VG*, pp. 74-7; Irigoin, 'Georges Hermonyme', 22 claims that some thirty manuscripts could be added to Omont's list. There is, for example, a copy of the Dialogue between George Scholarios and Mehmed II on the Christian religion in the Biblioteca Nazionale in Naples by Hermonymos, which is not listed by Omont: L. Thorndike, *A History of Magic and Experimental Science*, vol. 3 (New York, 1934), p. 237, n. 17. For a specimen of Hermonymos's script see: Omont, *Fac-similés*, no. 22.

<sup>116</sup> John Reuchlin, *Briefwechsel*, ed. L. Geiger (Tubingen, 1875), nos. 2 and 3, pp. 5-6; Omont, 'Georges Hermonyme', no. 45, pp. 88-9.

the abbot of Saint-Denis<sup>117</sup>. His productions were, therefore, well placed to be of great use as the knowledge of Greek expanded in France, after the arrival of Janus Lascaris in 1494.

It would be wrong, therefore, to dismiss Hermonymos on the strength of the rather supercilious comments of Erasmus and Budé and it is also worth reconsidering his briefer stay in England in the light of several pieces of manuscript evidence.

The first of these is the copy of his safe-conduct from Rome preserved in the Vatican registers, for it suggests that Hermonymos spent longer in England than is usually supposed. It bears the date 28 June 1473 so that it seems safe to assume that Hermonymos was in London by the autumn of that year. From Callistus's letter to George Dishypatos, we know that he was still there in March 1476<sup>118</sup>. He cannot have spent the entire period negotiating for the archbishop's release. If Neville had been freed at the same time he was pardoned, that is to say in November 1474<sup>119</sup>, that would have left over a year before Callistus wrote to Dishypatos arrest which took place three months before Callistus wrote to Dishypatos in March 1476. What was Hermonymos doing in the interval between completing his mission and being thrown into jail?

It is possible that Hermonymos occupied himself as he later did in Paris, copying manuscripts and teaching Greek. It may well have been between 1473 and 1476 that he copied a little book containing Latin translations of the sayings of the Greek Fathers which he dedicated to George Neville<sup>120</sup>. It may also have been in London that he penned a series of notes on the last pages of a manuscript now in the Bodleian Library. One of them records laconically that 'on 30 May, the king went

<sup>117</sup> Omont, 'Georges Hermonyme', p. 68, no. 1, p. 74, no. 5, p. 75, no. 13, p. 78, no. 18, pp. 79-80, no. 38, p. 87, no. 47, p. 89, no. 69, p. 94. There might already have been some interest in Greek at Saint-Denis since the abbey's library contained a copy of the Works of Dionysius the Areopagite presented by Manuel Chrysoloras on behalf of Manuel II in 1408: R. Weiss, 'Lo studio del Greco all' Abbazia di San Dionigi durante il medio evo', *Rivista di Storia della Chiesa in Italia*, 6 (1952), 426-38, esp. 426, n. 2.

<sup>118</sup> ASVat Reg. Vat. 662, f. 50; Callistus, *Epistola ad Georgium*, col. 1020.

<sup>119</sup> CPR (1467-77), p. 70.

<sup>120</sup> BL Harley 3346; Omont, 'Georges Hermonyme', no. 70, p. 95: 'Georgii Hermonymi in aliquorum probatissimorum virorum sententias ad Reverendissimum in Christo patrem et dominum D. Georgium, Archiepiscopum Eboracensem dignissimum'. He is unlikely to have produced this work much later for Neville died on 8 June 1476: Eubel, vol. 2, p. 164.



out of London<sup>121</sup>. This information would have only been available and of interest to someone who was on the spot which suggests that it was written in London. If this was so, it would suggest that Hermonymos was keeping up his literary activities during his foreign mission.

From the notes on this manuscript comes evidence that Hermonymos also taught while in London. Another of them refers to an 'English priest and friend' whom he coached in Greek<sup>122</sup>. This is unlikely to have been Neville. The Greek word *papas* is far too lowly to be used of an archbishop and besides, according to Neville's friend, John Shirwood, he lost all interest in literary pursuits after his arrest in 1472<sup>123</sup>. Shirwood, then archdeacon of Richmond, is a far likelier candidate for in later years, after a stay in Italy, he went on to acquire a good command of Greek<sup>124</sup>. He was certainly acquainted with Hermonymos in later years, after he became bishop of Durham in 1484, because Hermonymos dedicated to him a Latin translation of Aristotle's *De Virtutibus*<sup>125</sup>. Shirwood may, therefore, have picked up the basis of his Greek from Hermonymos in London between 1473 and 1476, before he started out for Italy.

It is also significant that Hermonymos was not the only Greek in London at that time. Apart from Callistus, whose impact seems to have been small on account of his death soon after his arrival, there was also a scribe called Demetrius Cantacuzenus. His presence in London is only known from a colophon of a manuscript of selections from Herodotus which states that it was copied there in October 1475<sup>126</sup>. It is hard to believe that Cantacuzenus was not connected with Hermonymos or Callistus in some way. He may have accompanied either of them from

<sup>121</sup> Bodleian Library, Oxford ms Grabe 30, esp. f. 115; H.O. Coxe, *Bodleian Library Quarto Catalogues*, vol. 1 - Greek Manuscripts (London, 1969, 2nd ed.), cols. 873-4. The manuscript evidently belonged to Hermonymos for his *Ex Libris* appears on f. 2v. The notes discussed here were pointed out to me by Maria Kalatzi.

<sup>122</sup> Bodleian Library, ms Grabe 30, f. 112v.

<sup>123</sup> W.H. Black, *A Descriptive, Analytical and Critical Catalogue of the Manuscripts Bequeathed unto the University of Oxford by Elias Ashmole Esq.* (Oxford, 1845), col. 248; Weiss, *Humanism*, pp. 143-4.

<sup>124</sup> BL Harley 433, f. 250v; *Foedera*, vol. 5, pt. III, p. 142 (= XII, 214); Weiss, *Humanism*, p. 151 and above p. 137.

<sup>125</sup> Bodleian Library, Oxford ms Rawl. G.93 (14821); Coxe, *Bodleian Library Quarto Catalogues*, vol. 1, no. 154, col. 712.

<sup>126</sup> BN ms grec 1731, f. 198; Nicol, *Byzantine Family of Kantakouzenos*, no. 100, p. 228; VG, p. 102; Omont, *Fac-similés*, no. 15. The latter gives 1474 as the year in which the work was copied.

Italy and may even have been the 'signore della Morea' who joined Callistus at Milan<sup>127</sup>. Taken together, the activities of Hermonymos, Callistus and Cantacuzenus in London in 1473-6 suggest that they may have been planning to stay and make their living in London. Had Callistus not died and Hermonymos not been so badly treated, London might have reaped the benefit of their industry.

As it happened, England was not left without the services of a Byzantine scribe for long after Hermonymos's departure. From at least November 1484 John Servopoulos of Constantinople was producing Greek manuscripts in what he refers to in his colophons as 'the island of the Britons'<sup>128</sup>. Very little is known about him. It is possible that he was connected in some way with Manuel of Constantinople for a copy of Suidas's *Lexicon*, now in Corpus Christi College, Oxford, which was started by Manuel was completed in the hand of Servopoulos<sup>129</sup>. From 1489 he was apparently working from the abbey of Reading and he was active there until at least 1500<sup>130</sup>.

Servopoulos's manuscripts tell us something about his patrons. Some of them may have been destined for monastic libraries, such as his two copies of the four Gospels, now in the Bodleian Library<sup>131</sup>. He frequently copied Theodore Gaza's Grammar, which indicates that there were people who wished to embark on learning Greek. Many of them may have been students or teachers at the University of Oxford, not far distant

<sup>127</sup> BH, vol. 1, pp. LIV-V. The Cantacuzenus family had had some connection with the Morea in the past. Matthew Cantacuzenus, son of the Emperor John VI, went there to live in 1361, after his imperial ambitions had been thwarted in Constantinople. His brother, Manuel, served as despot of the Morea: Nicol, *Byzantine Family of Kantakouzenos*, nos. 23 and 24, esp. pp. 118, 123.

<sup>128</sup> The earliest book known to have been copied by him is Trinity College, Dublin ms 925; J.G. Smyly, 'Notes on the Greek mss in the library of Trinity College', *Hermathena*, 48 (1933), 174; Weiss, *Humanism*, p. 148; VG, pp. 196-7. His surname suggests that he may have been related to Franculios Servopoulos.

<sup>129</sup> Corpus Christi College, Oxford, no. 77; James, 'Two more manuscripts', 291-2. College, Oxford no. 254; H.O. Coxe, *Catalogus Codicum Mss qui in Collegiis Aulisque Oxoniensibus Hodie Adservantur*, vol. 1 (Oxford, 1852), p. 91. The last datable manuscript known to have been copied by him is Corpus Christi College, Oxford, no. 24, completed on 8 May 1500: Coxe, *Catalogus Codicum*, vol. 2, pp. 5-6.

<sup>131</sup> Bodleian Library, Oxford Misc. Gr. 9, Selden 19 (18); Coxe, *Bodleian Quarto Catalogues*, vol. 1, pp. 595, 626.



from Servopoulos's base at Reading, for one of his copies of Gaza's grammar was bound there in the late fifteenth century<sup>132</sup>.

Not all his productions can have been destined for monks or beginners, however. His copies of commentaries on Aristotle could only have been read by those with an advanced knowledge of Greek<sup>133</sup>. Only a very small coterie of Englishmen had reached such a standard so that it is probable that Servopoulos produced books for them. William Selling, prior of Christchurch, Canterbury and John Shirwood, bishop of Durham, both knew Greek and both had libraries of Greek books. Selling's included the works of Synesius and St. Basil of Caesarea's commentary on Isaiah<sup>134</sup> and a number of Shirwood's Greek books were discovered at Bishop Auckland by one of his successors as bishop of Durham, Cuthbert Tunstall<sup>135</sup>. Unfortunately, it is impossible to tell for certain whether they possessed works copied by Servopoulos since their libraries have not survived intact. Selling's was neglected after his death and finally destroyed by fire in 1535. Of Shirwood's Greek books, all that survives is his copy of Gaza's grammar which he bought in Rome<sup>136</sup>.

In the case of Thomas Linacre and William Grocyn, however, there is clear evidence of a link with Servopoulos. Both had learned Greek in Italy after 1488, studying under Angelo Poliziano and Demetrius Chalcocondyles and so would have known enough to read the works of the classical authors<sup>137</sup>. Grocyn owned several of the Greek scribe's

<sup>132</sup> Bodleian Library, Oxford ms Gr. Class. e.96; F. Madan and H.H.E. Craster, *A Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library*, Oxford, vol. 6 (Oxford, 1924), no. 36205, p. 428; S. Gibson, *Early Oxford Bindings* (Oxford, 1903), no. 7, p. 17 where the binding is dated to c.1470. Weiss, *Humanism*, p. 147 suggests c.1480 as a more appropriate date since this would fit in with the period of Servopoulos's known activity. It is unfortunate that this particular manuscript has no colophon. For other copies of Gaza's grammar copied by Servopoulos see: New College, Oxford no. 254; Coxe, *Catalogus Codicum*, vol. 1, p. 91; Smyly, 'Notes on the Greek mss', 174; James, *The Western Manuscripts in the Library of Trinity College*, vol. 2, no. 823, p. 265.

<sup>133</sup> For example, the commentary of Eustratius of Nicaea on the *Ethics* of Aristotle: New College, Oxford, 240; Corpus Christi College, Oxford no. 106; Coxe, *Catalogus Codicum*, vol. 1, p. 87, vol. 2, p. 37.

<sup>134</sup> Leland, *De Scriptoribus*, p. 483; Weiss, *Humanism*, pp. 158-9.

<sup>135</sup> Leland, *De Scriptoribus*, p. 262; P.S. Allen, 'Bishop Shirwood of Durham and his library', *EHR* 25 (1910), 445-56.

<sup>136</sup> Leland, *De Scriptoribus*, pp. 299, 483; *LP*, vol. 9, no. 669, p. 226; *Catalogue of the Manuscripts Preserved in the Library of the University of Cambridge*, vol. 3, no. 1813, pp. 453-4.

<sup>137</sup> Erasmus, *Correspondence*, no. 520, pp. 201-2.

manuscripts. All those by Servopoulos now in the library of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, belonged to him<sup>138</sup>, as did a 'Simplicium de Celo, manu Johannis Servopoli' which was recorded in the list of his books made after his death. Linacre, too, had one of Servopoulos's productions among his books, a copy of Eustratius of Nicaea on Aristotle<sup>139</sup>. Both men may, therefore, have specially commissioned these books.

Since Servopoulos's career as a copyist paralleled that of Hermonymos in Paris, it is also likely that he too taught Greek. There is no definite proof that he did but it is suggested by Erasmus's later remark that Grocyn and Linacre had learned the basics of Greek in their own country, before they set out for Italy and by a specimen of Grocyn's Greek handwriting which survives from as early as 1476<sup>140</sup>. If they were prepared to take manuscripts from Servopoulos, there is no reason why they should not have received instruction as well.

There can be no question of equating Servopoulos and Hermonymos with the great masters of Greek who taught in Italy. Grocyn, Linacre, Shirwood, Erasmus and others still clearly felt the need to travel to the centres of learning in spite of the availability of these teachers nearer home. Nonetheless the careers of Hermonymos and Andronicus Contoblacas form a direct link between the activity of the Academy of Bessarion in Rome and the earliest pursuit of Greek studies in Basle, Paris and London, so that these cities too, reaped something of the legacy of the great cardinal. Moreover, in the wider question of the transmission of Byzantine culture to Western Europe, the importance of the Byzantine scholars who penetrated beyond the Alps cannot be over-stressed: they exemplify the process by which aspects of Byzantine civilisation were transmitted first to Italy then to be diffused from Italy to the rest of Europe. This theme will be examined further in the next chapter.

<sup>138</sup> Corpus Christi College, Oxford nos. 23, 24, 77, 106, 109 were all copied by Servopoulos and all belonged to Grocyn. No. 106, the commentary of Eustratius of Nicaea on the *Ethics* of Aristotle contains the inscription: 'Iste liber Eustrathii in Greco pertinet magistro Willelmo Grosone, vicario Sancti Laurencii in Olde Jury in London': Coxe, *Catalogus Codicum*, vol. 2, p. 37; Weiss, *Humanism*, p. 148.

<sup>139</sup> New College, Oxford no. 241; Coxe, *Catalogus Codicum*, vol. 1, p. 87; Burrows, 'Linacre's catalogue', p. 372.

<sup>140</sup> Erasmus, *Correspondence*, vol. 4, no. 540, pp. 259-60; Weiss, *Humanism*, p. 174, n. 3.



## CHAPTER FIVE

### *Cultural Transmission from East to West:* *2. Technology*

Those who emigrated from Byzantium during the fifteenth century were not composed solely of scholars of classical Greek. Others, with widely differing expertise, secured themselves favour and patronage similar to that enjoyed by John Argyropoulos or Theodore Gaza in their adopted countries. This chapter seeks to discover whether they made a similar, significant contribution to developments in their fields in the West.

It is worth pointing out, initially, that there were good historical precedents for such cultural and technological transmission. In the days when Byzantium had been the foremost Christian power, it had been only natural for the empire's influence to pass to its less developed neighbours in the West through the medium of Byzantine emigres. One example is the sphere of the decorative arts of painting, sculpture and mosaic.

There are numerous examples of Greek workmen active in the West, particularly in Italy, before about 1200. Contemporary accounts describe how they were specially brought in to beautify the monastery of Monte Cassino, the church and monastery of San Zaccaria in Venice and the church St. Bartholomew at Paderborn<sup>1</sup>. Inevitably, the presence of these artists and their finished works of art influenced the style of local craftsmen, as is apparent in the mosaics of St. Mark's in Venice, the design and decoration of Charlemagne's cathedral at Aachen, the illumination of manuscripts like the Lindisfarne Gospels and the Utrecht Psalter and the 'vine scroll' carvings on stone crosses in Scotland and Northern England<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> *Vita Meinwerchi*, ed. C. Brower (Neuhaus, 1681), ch. XLVIII, p. 97; Cecchetti, 'Nomi di pittori', 45, n. 1; Borsetti, *Historia Alma Ferrariae Gymnasii*, vol. 2, p. 447; Vasari, *Lives*, vol. 1, p. 47; Tafel and Thomas, *Urkunden*, vol. 1, no. 1, pp. 1-3; Leo of Ostia, *Chronica Sacri Monasterii Casinensis* (Paris, 1668), bk. III, ch. 29, p. 351; A.L. Frothingham, 'Byzantine artists in Italy from the sixth to the fifteenth century', *American Journal of Archaeology*, 9 (1894), 32-52; E. Müntz, 'Les artistes byzantins dans l'Europe Latine', *Revue de l'Art Chrétien*, 36 (1893), 181-90.

<sup>2</sup> J. Beckwith, 'Byzantine influence on art at the court of Charlemagne', *Karl der Grosse*, ed. W. Braunsfels (Düsseldorf, 1965), pp. 288-300; C. Nordenfalk, 'Eastern style elements in the Book of Lindisfarne', *Acta Archaeologica*, 13 (1942), 157-69; D. Tselos, 'The Greek element in the Utrecht Psalter', *Art Bulletin*, 13 (1931), 53-73; C.



This artistic influence was not necessarily the direct result of the presence of Byzantine artists. In many cases it is likely that these elements were received second-hand from Italy. The eastern motifs on English stone crosses and in the Lindisfarne Gospels, for example, may have been the result of numerous visits to Rome by English ecclesiastics during the seventh and eighth centuries. According to contemporary accounts, they often brought works of art back with them, which might then have been used as models by Anglo-Saxon artists<sup>3</sup>. Even so, the itinerant Greek artists of the early and middle Byzantine periods provide a good example of how the empire's cultural influence was disseminated by its citizens abroad.

There were other areas of Byzantine expertise, however, which the emperors had no intention of allowing their subjects to carry to foreign countries. Byzantine military technology had saved Constantinople during the seventh and eighth centuries when the complex structure of the Theodosian walls, the 'secret weapon' of Greek fire and an early warning system against Moslem attacks by means of hilltop beacons, devised by Leo the Mathematician, had all been vital elements in the city's defence<sup>4</sup>. Naturally enough, the Byzantine rulers had no intention of losing this technical edge by allowing their enemies to discover their secrets. The Emperor Theophilus (829-42) is alleged to have firmly declined an offer from the Caliph of two thousand pounds of gold and eternal peace, if he would only allow Leo the Mathematician to reside a short time in

Mowbray, 'Eastern influence on carvings at St. Andrews and Nigg, Scotland', *Antiquity*, 10 (1936), 428-40; J.M.M. Timmers, 'Byzantine influence on architecture and other art forms in the Low Countries with particular reference to the region of the Meuse', *Byzantium and the Low Countries*, ed. V.D. Van Aalst and K.N. Ciggaar (Hernen, 1985), pp. 104-45; O. Demus, *The Mosaics of San Marco in Venice*, (Chicago and London, 1984), pt. 1, vol. 1, p. 282; E. Kitzinger, 'The Byzantine contribution to western art in the twelfth and thirteenth century', *DOP*, 20 (1966), 27-47; K. Weitzmann, 'Various aspects of Byzantine influence on the Latin countries from the sixth to the twelfth centuries', *DOP*, 20 (1966), 3-24; O. Demus, *Byzantine Art and the West, The Wrightsman Lectures*, 3 (London, 1970).

<sup>3</sup> Bede, *Historia Abbatum, Baedae Opera Historica*, ed. C. Plummer, vol. 1 (Oxford, 1896), pp. 364-87, esp. pp. 368-9; Eddius Stephanus, *Life of Wilfrid*, trans. B. Colgrave (Cambridge, 1927), p. 30.

<sup>4</sup> Theophanes, *Chronographia*, ed. C. de Boor, vol. 1 (Leipzig, 1883), p. 354, trans. H. Turtledove (Philadelphia, 1982), p. 53; Theophanes Continuatus, bk. IV, pp. 197-8; C. Zenghelis, 'Le feu grégeois et les armes à feu byzantins', *Byzantion*, 7 (1932), 265-86; P. Pattenden, 'The Byzantine early warning system', *Byzantion*, 53 (1983), 258-99; Ostrogorsky, *History*, pp. 124, 157, 277, 296.

Baghdad. It would be unwise, he said, to 'give away one's own advantages to others and thus make available to the world at large that knowledge of science for which the Roman nation is both admired and honoured beyond all others ...'<sup>5</sup>. The same applied to the silk industry, which was a tightly controlled imperial monopoly where exports were strictly regulated<sup>6</sup>.

However, when in the eleventh century Byzantium began to lose its position as the strongest of the Christian powers, it seems to have lost the power of preventing its subjects from exporting its vital secrets. In 1147, in a raid on Greece and Corinth, Roger II, the Norman king of Sicily, rounded up all the silk workers who were to be found and had them carried off to Palermo where they formed the nucleus of Roger's own nascent silk industry<sup>7</sup>. By the thirteenth century, Byzantine military technology was also falling into the hands of the rulers of Southern Italy by means of emigre Byzantines. In 1281, for example, a Nicolas of Lucera<sup>8</sup>.

<sup>5</sup> Theophanes Continuatus, bk. IV, pp. 185-92, esp. p. 190, lines 18-20.

<sup>6</sup> R.S. Lopez, 'Silk industry in the Byzantine Empire', *Speculum*, 20 (1945), 1-42; A.M. Muthesius, 'The Byzantine silk industry: Lopez and beyond', *Journal of Medieval History*, 19 (1993), 1-67, esp. 19-23. Those silk artifacts which did find their way to the West, often by other returning travellers, were highly prized and were generally reserved for the highest purposes, often being laid as homage in the tombs of saints: C.F. Battiscombe et al., *The Relics of St. Cuthbert* (Oxford, 1956), pp. 505-25; J. Beckwith, *Early Christian and Byzantine Art* (Harmondsworth, 1979, 2nd ed.), pp. 216-19; E. Sabbe, 'L'importation des tissus orientaux en Europe occidentale au haut moyen âge', *Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire*, 14 (1935), 1261-88, esp. 1282-5.

<sup>7</sup> Otto of Freising, *Gesta Friderici I Imperatoris*, ed. G. Waitz, *MGH Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum* (Hannover and Leipzig, 1912), bk. I, ch. 23, pp. 53-4; K.N. Ciggaar, 'Chrétien de Troyes et la "matière byzantine": les damoiselles du Château de Pesme Aventure', *Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale*, 32 (1989), 325-31.

<sup>8</sup> N. Faraglia, 'Le memorie degli artisti napoletani', *ASPN*, 8 (1883), 259-86, esp. 265. As in the case of the more peaceable transmission of artistic techniques in earlier centuries, it was often secondhand from Italy that Byzantine military architecture was transferred to western countries. The design of concentric castles, like those at Caernarfon, Harlech, Conwy and Beaumaris in Wales, is thought to have been based on that of the walls of Constantinople and their construction was supervised by Savoyard masons, specially brought in by the English king for the purpose: A.J. Taylor, 'Master James of St. George', *EHR*, 65 (1950), 433-57; M. Prestwich, *Edward I* (London, 1988), p. 214.



One might be forgiven for thinking, therefore, that by the fifteenth century the West had long since surpassed Byzantium as much in technical expertise as it had in military power and had nothing more to learn from Byzantine emigres. Many contemporaries clearly felt this to be the case, to judge by the note of admiration which Byzantine intellectuals had come to allow themselves when writing about the West. Nowhere is this attitude more apparent than in the letter of Cardinal Bessarion to Constantine Palaeologus, the future Constantine XI, written in about 1440, in which he urged that the empire could only be saved if its rulers were prepared to learn from Italy. He even proposed that young Greeks should be sent to the West to learn certain necessary skills, including engineering, iron working, shipbuilding, arms manufacture and silk production<sup>9</sup>. This latter was the ultimate irony - that Byzantium should now be forced to learn from others the craft that had once been the empire's exclusive preserve.

There are, however, good grounds for treating the learned cardinal's comments with some caution. One example is that of silk. Although it is true that there had been technical advances in the West, particularly in the use of water power<sup>10</sup>, contemporary Venetian documents concerning the Morea show that the silk industry there was by no means moribund. The complaints of the Greek villagers dwelling around Corone against a rapacious Venetian chancellor, include the charge that he bought their silk cocoons cheaply while refusing to permit them to travel to Achaia where they could obtain a higher price<sup>11</sup>. This cottage industry must have operated on a considerable scale, for in the 1430s, the government of Venice became seriously worried lest the Byzantine city of Mistra should come to rival their colony of Methone as a centre for the silk industry<sup>12</sup>.

Nor was Byzantine production restricted merely to the supply of the raw material, the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries being the period in which some of the finest Byzantine ecclesiastical silk vestments were made. These were good enough to impress contemporary Westerners. One Italian eye-witness to the Council of Florence wrote that the Greek prelates presented a far more dignified appearance than did the Latins on

<sup>9</sup> LPP, vol. 4, pp. 32-45; Keller, 'Byzantine admirer', 343-8; Ševčenko, 'Decline of Byzantium', 176.

<sup>10</sup> M.F. Mazzaoui, *The Italian Cotton Industry in the Later Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 1981), pp. 78-9.

<sup>11</sup> Hodgetts, 'Venetian officials', 491-8.

<sup>12</sup> Sathas, *Documents*, vol. 3, p. 380; Krekić, *Dubrovnik*, no. 787, p. 293.

account of their fine robes of silk<sup>13</sup>. It is tempting to conclude, therefore, that, in this matter at least, Bessarion had allowed his admiration of the West to blind him to the real situation in his own country.

Yet although there is no doubt that the Byzantine silk industry survived into the fifteenth century, it is quite another matter to suggest that the West was still in need of Byzantine expertise in this field. There is no evidence whatever that this was the case, no document of the period mentioning any migrant Greek silk workers.

So in seeking to discover areas in which Byzantine immigrants might have influenced economic, artistic and technological developments in the West during the fifteenth century it is necessary to find numbers of them pursuing some specialised role, since this might imply that they were offering skills which were not available locally. As an example, there are several cases of their acting as musicians. The government of Ragusa specifically employed Greeks as trumpeters and the French count of Dunois maintained a Greek called George in his household on account of his skill with the lute and the harp<sup>14</sup>. Isaac Argyropoulos, son of the scholar John, was an accomplished singer and organist, sometimes singing the Greek epistle at Mass in St. Peter's<sup>15</sup>.

It is not entirely out of the question that these musicians were employed because they commanded rare or previously unavailable skills for in the past Byzantine music had exercised some influence on that of the West and had been greatly admired there. During the eighth and ninth centuries at least three Popes had invited Greek monks to Rome on account of their proficiency in psalmody and Byzantine influence is to be found in western ecclesiastical chant of the period<sup>16</sup>.

On the other hand, there is no indication that the emigre musicians of the fifteenth century possessed any skill which was unknown

<sup>13</sup> Vespasiano, p. 25; Beckwith, *Early Christian and Byzantine Art*, pp. 334-9.

<sup>14</sup> Krekić, *Dubrovnik*, no. 783, p. 293, no. 1299, p. 386, no. 1304, p. 387, no. 1363, p. 398 and pp. 131-2; Iorga, *Notes et extraits*, vol. 2, p. 47; L.E.S.J. de Laborde, *Les Ducs de Bourgogne*, vol. 3 (Paris, 1852), no. 7031, p. 396, no. 7071, p. 406.

<sup>15</sup> Gherardi, p. 50; Sartori, 'Organs', p. 61; *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 4, pp. 131-2.

<sup>16</sup> *Liber Pontificalis*, vol. 1, pp. 464-5, vol. 2, pp. 54, 113. The English Winchester Troper, for example, contains the Byzantine hymn Χαῖρε ἡ πύλη, with a Latin gloss: E. Wellesz, *Eastern Elements in Western Chant - Studies in the Early History of Ecclesiastical Music* (Oxford, 1947), pp. 192-201. Such Byzantine influence may have been brought to England by Italian ecclesiastics who taught the Roman mode of chanting there: Bede, *Ecclesiastical History*, ed. B. Colgrave and R.A.B. Mynors (Oxford, 1969), bk. IV, ch. 18, p. 388.



in the West. While George Sphrantzes could impress the people of the remote kingdom of Georgia by showing them instruments which they had never seen before<sup>17</sup>, it would have been a different matter in Italy and France, where the lute, harp and trumpet were in common use. It has to be concluded that George 'le Grec' and Isaac Argyropoulos were employed merely as gifted individuals and not as representatives of an old and superior tradition.

There is also the case of goldsmiths. Greeks were prominent as goldsmiths under Ottoman rule<sup>18</sup> and a few others lived and worked in Venice and Ragusa. John Caramalos 'de Trapesonda', who was involved in a case heard by the court of the Goldsmiths' Company in London in 1468, was probably of the same trade<sup>19</sup>. There is nothing surprising about Greeks pursuing a gold related trade in the West for Byzantine expertise with precious metals had been famous throughout the Middle Ages. Goldsmiths had enjoyed a privileged position in Constantinople, having their own highly organised guild and taking a place of honour in Imperial processions. Their handiwork was highly esteemed in the West, partly because of a shortage of gold and silver made them even more valuable but also because of their intrinsic beauty and craftsmanship. The altarpiece known as the *Pala d'oro*, in St. Mark's in Venice was specially commissioned and manufactured in Constantinople<sup>20</sup>. There is no evidence, however, that the fifteenth century emigre goldsmiths made any particular contribution to the way their craft was practised in the West.

A third example is that of the painters of frescoes and icons who were also common among the Greek exiles of the fifteenth century. The Moreot Xenos Digenis worked on Crete from 1462, George 'Greco' in

<sup>17</sup> Sphrantzes, bk. XXX, ch. 1, p. 74.

<sup>18</sup> After his invasion of Asia Minor in 1402 the Mongol ruler, Timur, took some of them back with him to Samarkand: Clavijo, *Embassy*, p. 288; Vryonis, *Decline*, p. 237n.

<sup>19</sup> ASV Cancellaria Inferiore, Notai 831; Goldsmiths' Company Archives, London, Minute Book A (1444-1516), p. 122; Reddaway and Walker, *Early History*, p. 151; Krekić, *Dubrovnik*, no. 256, p. 205, no. 266, p. 207; Fedalto, *Ricerche*, doc. IV, pp. 119-20.

<sup>20</sup> *Ordinances of Leo VI c.895 from the Book of the Eparch*, trans. E. Freshfield, τὸ ἐπαρχικὸν βιβλίον, the Book of the Eparch, le Livre du Préfet (London, 1970), pp. 230-3; Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus, *De Ceremoniis*, ed. J.J. Reisky, *CSHB*, bk. II, ch. 52, vol. 1 (Bonn, 1829), p. 725; O. Demus, 'Zur Pala d'Oro', *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinischen Gesellschaft*, 16 (1967), 263-79.

Venice in the 1390s and Theophanes the Greek in Novgorod and Moscow<sup>21</sup>. They were not only to be found in areas with large Orthodox populations. George 'di Salvatore' of Constantinople was active in Ferrara between 1404 and about 1420 and others worked in Ragusa and in the Benedictine monastery of Sacro Speco at Subiaco near Rome<sup>22</sup>. These artists were still very much in evidence in the following century when the brothers Angelos and Donatos Bizamanos found employment in Ragusa, Otranto and Barletta<sup>23</sup>.

In the case of painters there are stronger grounds for thinking that their appearance in Western Europe was linked to Byzantine tradition in which they worked. The art of fresco painting had flourished in Byzantium during the Palaeologan period, possibly because patrons could no longer afford to commission mosaics, and some fine examples survive in the parecclesion of the church of the monastery of the Chora in Constantinople and in the church of the Peribleptos at Mistra<sup>24</sup>. The icons in traditional Byzantine style were very popular in the late fifteenth century West. Large numbers of them were produced on Crete by artists like the brothers Andreas and Nicolas Rizos and these were then imported into Venice<sup>25</sup>. Similar pictures accounted for most of the output of the Greek artists who had taken up residence in Italy. Donatos Bizamanos was

<sup>21</sup> M. Chatzidakis, 'Contribution à l'étude de la peinture post-byzantine', *Le cinq centième anniversaire de la prise de Constantinople* (Athens, 1953), pp. 193-216, esp. p. 207; Cecchetti, 'Nomi di pittori', 62; V.N. Lazarev, *Theophanes der Grieche und seine Schule* (Vienna and Munich, 1968).

<sup>22</sup> L.N. Cittadella, *Notizie relative a Ferrara* (Ferrara, 1864), p. 562; L.N. Cittadella, *Documenti ed illustrazioni riguardanti la storia artistica ferrarese* (Ferrara, 1868), p. 6; Krekić, *Dubrovnik*, no. 268, p. 207, no. 377, p. 226 and nos. 326, 373, 384. The signature 'Stammatico Greco pinxit, 1489' used to be visible near a wall painting of Gregory the Great in Sacro Speco: P. Egidi, G. Giovannoni, F. Hermanin, *I monasteri di Subiaco*, vol. 1 (Rome, 1904), p. 531. It has now disappeared.

<sup>23</sup> S. Krasić, 'Dipinti di Angelo e Donato Bizamano in Dubrovnik', *Studi di storia pugliese in onore di Giuseppe Chiarelli*, vol. 2 (Galatina, 1973), pp. 353-63; M.S. Calò, *La pittura del cinquecento e del primo seicento in terra di Bari* (Bari, 1969), pp. 35-49; V. de Cicco, 'S. Mauro Forte - il quadro del Salvatore', *Arte e Storia*, 13 (1894), 102-3.

<sup>24</sup> Beckwith, *Early Christian and Byzantine Art*, pp. 318-19, 339-43.

<sup>25</sup> N. Chatzidakis, *Venetiae Quasi Alterum Byzantium: From Candia to Venice, Greek Icons in Italy, 15th-16th Centuries* (Athens, 1993), pp. 21-3; M. Cattapan, 'I pittori Andrea e Nicola Rizo da Candia', *Th*, 10 (1973), 238-82. The icons in the possession of the dukes of Burgundy possibly reached them by this route: De Laborde, *Les ducs de Bourgogne*, vol. 2, no. 4077, pp. 239-40, no. 4079, p. 240, nos. 4188-9, p. 256, no. 4249, p. 265.



commissioned to paint a Virgin and Child by a certain Francesco Corrado de Noia in 1539 and the half figure of St. Mark, painted in 1454 and now in the Brera Gallery in Milan, is also thought to be the work of a Greek, 'Maestro Giorgio'<sup>26</sup>.

There can be no doubt then that there were Greek artists active in the West during the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries and that their productions attracted patrons and buyers. There is, however, a wide difference between their contribution to the development of painting in the West and that of the refugee scholars to humanist studies. They were working in a genre which was already perceived to be antiquated. Vasari later claimed that the work of Giotto in the early fourteenth century had marked the break from such styles of painting which had been discarded by his day<sup>27</sup>. The demand for religious paintings in the Byzantine style declined as the sixteenth century progressed so that Greek artists came to cater exclusively for the needs of their own communities<sup>28</sup>. With the notable exception of El Greco, therefore, these artists represent a survival from the past rather than a trend influencing future developments.

The instances of Greek musicians, goldsmiths and painters suggest that however indebted the West may have been to Byzantium in these areas in earlier times and however many examples can be found of Greeks pursuing these roles in the fifteenth century, these are not in themselves enough to justify the conclusion that the West continued to be influenced by Byzantine expertise in these areas. In neither case is there any indication that subsequent developments owed anything to their contribution. There are other areas, however, where such evidence may exist and this is suggested by philological studies of Greek 'loan words' in western vernacular languages. Such adopted words often involve medicine, navigation and the fine arts<sup>29</sup> so it is to these areas that the discussion will now turn.

<sup>26</sup> M. Gervasio, *La Pinacoteca Provinciale di Bari* (Molfetta, 1936, 2nd ed.), p. 183; *Musei e gallerie di Milano: Pinacoteca di Brera: Scuola Veneta* (Milan, 1990), pl. 92, pp. 174-5.

<sup>27</sup> Vasari, *Lives*, vol. 1, p. 50.

<sup>28</sup> H. Hunger, 'Markos Bathas, ein griechischer Maler des Cinquecento in Venedig', *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik*, 21 (1972), 131-7; M.B. Fiorin, 'Giovanni Permeniate pittore greco a Venezia e una tavola del Museo Nazionale di Ravenna', *Bollettino d'Arte*, 6th series, 66 (1981), pt. 11, 85-8; Vryonis, *Decline*, p. 239.

<sup>29</sup> H. Kahane, R. Kahane and A. Pietrangeli, 'Cultural criteria for western borrowings from Byzantine Greek', *Homenaje a Antonio Tovar* (Madrid, 1972), pp. 205-29, esp. 213.

## 1. Medicine

Amongst the vast body of literature which Byzantium inherited from the ancient world, was not only the philosophy, history and mythology so beloved of the Italian humanists. The works of the ancient medical writers had also been passed down, particularly those of Hippocrates, Galen and Dioscorides and of the fifth and sixth century physicians, Paul of Aegina and Alexander of Tralles. While by the tenth century these books had been lost to the West, in Constantinople the Emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus (913-59) ordered Theophanes Chrysobalantes (or Nonnos) to summarise them to create a complete synopsis of the medical art, as part of his general policy of ensuring the preservation of all useful knowledge<sup>30</sup>.

These epitomes and the authors from which they were drawn were studied, along with Plato, Homer and Thucydides, by the students in higher education so that any well educated Byzantine would have been expected to know something of medicine. Nicephorus Blemmydes (1197-c.1269) studied medicine for seven years and Anna Comnena clearly enjoyed airing her erudition in her account of the last illness of her father and of the discussion among the physicians as to a possible diagnosis<sup>31</sup>. Her nephew, Manuel I Comnenus, used this practical skill on the battlefield as his biographer Cinnamos reveals:

In such matters he surpassed many who had been occupied in the physician's art throughout their life. Indeed, during a shortage of trained men, I have seen him lancing veins and applying drugs to the sick. He also contributed much to the healer's science, which had remained unknown for all time; what (drugs) are proper for anointing, what for drinking ...<sup>32</sup>.

The survival of ancient medical knowledge did not only concern those who had undergone higher education. Holy men like St. Theodore

<sup>30</sup> Theophanes Nonnos, *Epitome de Curatione Morborum*, ed. J.S. Bernard (Gotha-Amsterdam, 1794), 2 vols; J. Sonderkamp, 'Theophanes Nonnos: medicine in the circle of Constantine Porphyrogenitus', *DOP*, 38 (1984), 29-41; J.M. Riddle, 'Byzantine commentaries on Dioscorides', *DOP*, 38 (1984), 95-102; Ostrogorsky, *History*, pp. 279-80; O. Temkin, 'Byzantine medicine', *DOP*, 16 (1962), 97-115.

<sup>31</sup> Nicephorus Blemmydes, *Autobiographia sive Curriculum Vitae*, ed. J.A. Munitiz (Leuven-Turnhout, 1984), bk. I, ch. 5, p. 4; Anna Comnena, bk. XV, ch. 11, vol. 2, pp. 367-83.

<sup>32</sup> Cinnamos, bk. IV, p. 190; trans. C.M. Brand (New York, 1976), p. 145.



of Syceon, not noted for their partiality to liberal studies, are recorded by their hagiographers not only to have performed miracles but also to have achieved cures simply by means of a wise prescription<sup>33</sup>, while for the inhabitants of Constantinople, at least, a high standard of medical care was available both from public hospitals and the institutions called xenons.

Byzantine hospitals were not mere hostels where untrained monks nursed the sick but medical centres where courses of treatment were administered. The twelfth century typicon or foundation charter of the hospital attached to the monastery of the Pantocrator in Constantinople demonstrates how this worked in practice. Although the typicon stipulates that the monks were to be responsible for maintaining the hospital of fifty beds, treatment was to be the responsibility of professional, secular doctors brought in from outside, including a woman doctor to care for the female patients. Rules were laid down for the diet of the patients and the baths they were to take and there was also to be a resident teacher to give instruction in the medical art<sup>34</sup>. Further testimony to the extent to which Byzantine medicine was placed on rational foundations comes from the evidence that human dissection was practised to ascertain the cause of death<sup>35</sup>.

It would seem then that medical care was of a high order in Byzantium precisely because it was based on a body of literature, rather than on oral tradition and as a result Byzantine medicine enjoyed a high prestige outside the empire. In antiquity, Greek physicians had been found attending on Roman emperors and Persian kings and practising in the

<sup>33</sup> E. Dawes and N. Baynes, *Three Byzantine Saints* (Oxford, 1948), p. 182; P. Brown, 'The rise and function of the holy man in Late Antiquity', *Journal of Roman Studies*, 61 (1971), 80-101, esp. 98.

<sup>34</sup> P. Gautier, 'Le typikon du Christ Sauveur Pantocrator', *REB*, 32 (1974), 1-145, esp. 85-7, 91-3, 99-105, 107; T.S. Miller, *The Birth of the Hospital in the Byzantine Empire* (Baltimore, 1985). On the xenons see: D.J. Constantelos, *Byzantine Philanthropy and Social Welfare* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1969), esp. p. 155. For female doctors see J. Chrysostomides, *Byzantine Women. Lecture delivered to the Lykion ton Hellinidon*, 18<sup>th</sup> October 1993 (Camberley, 1994), pp. 10-11.

<sup>35</sup> L.J. Bliquez and A. Kazhdan, 'Four testimonia to human dissection in Byzantine times', *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 58 (1984), 554-7; R. Browning, 'A further testimony to human dissection in the Byzantine world', *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 59 (1985), 518-20.

furthest corners of the Roman Empire<sup>36</sup>. They continued to be welcome in foreign lands during the Byzantine period. The Ottoman emir, Orhan (1326-62), employed a certain Taronites at his court in Brusa and Theodore of Tarsus, the seventh century archbishop of Canterbury, brought the traditional medical wisdom of the Byzantine holy man to his English flock. His *Poenitential* contains a recipe against dysentery and his advice on the best time for bleeding a patient was still followed long after his death<sup>37</sup>.

Theodore's influence may explain why Anglo-Saxon medical writings contain echoes of Byzantine practices. One tenth century manuscript includes a charm against bleeding consisting of some corrupt Greek words and the guidance given in Old English 'Leechbooks' often bears some resemblance to the writings of Paul of Aegina and Alexander of Tralles<sup>38</sup>. The English also had other direct sources of medical information from the Byzantine world. One of the Leechbooks claims that certain medicinal recipes which it quotes, were sent to King Alfred the Great (871-99) by Elias, the Greek patriarch of Jerusalem. Improbable though it may seem, the Leechbook's testimony is supported by Alfred's contemporary biographer, Asser, who describes how Alfred received a letter and a gift from the patriarch of Jerusalem<sup>39</sup>.

Yet while the West had lagged far behind Byzantium in this field during the earlier Middle Ages, by the fifteenth century the gap had been largely closed. Throughout the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the Norman and Angevin rulers of Southern Italy and Sicily had taken advantage of the many Greek speakers among their subjects and had

<sup>36</sup> Hermogenes, the physician of the Emperor Hadrian, was probably a Greek: Cassius Dio, *Roman History*, trans. E. Cary, bk. LXIX, ch. 22, vol. 8 (London, 1925), p. 462; Procopius, *History of the Wars*, bk. II, ch. 26, p. 497.

<sup>37</sup> Philippidis-Braat, 'La captivité', 149; Theodore of Tarsus, *Poenitential*, *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents Relating to Britain and Ireland*, ed. A.W. Haddan and W. Stubbs, vol. 3 (Oxford, 1871), p. 198; Bede, *Ecclesiastical History*, bk. V, ch. 3, p. 461.

<sup>38</sup> BL Royal 2AXX, f. 49; *Leechdoms, Wortcunning and Starcraft of Early England*, ed. O.T. Cockayne, RS 35, vol. 2 (London, 1865), pp. XIXff; J.H.G. Grattan and C. Singer, *Anglo-Saxon Magic and Medicine* (Oxford, 1952), pp. 48-52; M.L. Cameron, 'Bald's Leechbook and cultural interactions in Anglo-Saxon England', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 19 (1990), 5-12. Similar Byzantine influence is found in medical writings from elsewhere in Europe: G. Baader, 'Early medieval Latin adaptations of Byzantine medicine in western Europe', *DOP*, 38 (1984), 251-9.

<sup>39</sup> *Leechdoms*, vol. 2, pp. 288-91; Asser, *Life of King Alfred*, ed. W.H. Stevenson (London, 1904), pp. 77, 328.



encouraged the translation of Greek medical texts into Latin, either from the original or from Arabic versions. In 1308 Charles II of Anjou summoned the Greek, Nicolas 'da Reggio', to his court specifically to produce Latin versions of the works of Galen and Hippocrates<sup>40</sup>. These translations provided the basis for instruction at the Salerno school of medicine which attracted students from throughout Europe and was probably instrumental in introducing so many Greek medical words into western vernacular languages<sup>41</sup>. A high standard of medical practice was pursued in many parts of Western Europe by 1400. At the hospital of Santa Maria Nuova in Florence, for example, courses of treatment were followed much as they had been in Byzantine institutions and in the Universities of Florence and Bologna, human dissection was used to teach anatomy<sup>42</sup>.

By the fifteenth century, therefore, neither ancient Greek medical literature nor practices based on it were the exclusive preserve of Byzantium. Yet it would be wrong to assume that Byzantine expertise in this field had entirely passed to the West, for three important reasons: a high standard of medical care was maintained in Constantinople right up to the fall of the city, secondly, knowledge of Greek authors like Galen was uneven in different parts of Western Europe and, thirdly, physicians of Greek origin were often to be found practising there throughout the fifteenth century. Each of these points needs to be examined in more detail.

To take the first, while it is true that hospitals tended to shrink in size during the Palaeologan period, this was due more to shortage of money than to lack of medical skill. New ones continued to be established

<sup>40</sup> C.H. Haskins, *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge Mass., 1927), p. 287; Weiss, 'Translators', 195-226; F. Lo Parco, *Niccolò da Reggio: antesignano del risorgimento dell'antichità ellenica nel secolo XIV* (Naples, 1913); L. Thorndike, 'Translations of works of Galen from the Greek by Niccolò da Reggio', *Byzantina Metabyzantina*, 1 (1946), 213-35. The Flemish William of Moerbeke had also produced translations of some of the works of the medical authors: Setton, 'Byzantine background', 62, n. 10; Minio-Paluello, 'Guglielmo di Moerbeke', 1-19.

<sup>41</sup> The Italian *morphea*, meaning 'skin disease', for example, is derived from the Greek *ἀμορφία*: Kahane, Kahane, Pietrangeli, 'Cultural criteria', 213; R. Browning, 'Greek influence on the Salerno School of Medicine', *Byzantium and Europe: First International Byzantine Conference, Delphi 1985* (Athens, 1987), pp. 189-94; Haskins, *Renaissance*, pp. 323-7.

<sup>42</sup> K. Park, *Doctors and Medicine in Early Renaissance Florence* (Princeton, N.J., 1985), pp. 60-1, 101-9; V.L. Bullough, *The Development of Medicine as a Profession* (Basle and New York, 1966), pp. 62-5.

or re-established as in the case of the hospital for women attached to the monastery of Lips<sup>43</sup>, and Byzantine scholars remained assiduous in preserving and copying medical texts. In 1323 a physician of one of the xenons wrote a book on internal medicine drawn from the works of ancient authors such as Galen and Paul of Aegina and in 1406 John Chortasmenos had a copy of Dioscorides rebound for presentation to the Crales Xenon<sup>44</sup>. John Staphidas wrote manuscripts of selections from medical authors which he dedicated to the hospital of St. Panteleemon situated near the church of St. Basil<sup>45</sup>. In this way, they ensured that these texts remained the basis for treatment in the hospitals.

Moreover, Constantinople continued to be regarded as a medical centre by outsiders in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, attracting those who wished to study medicine. The lectures of famous teachers often included medical matters and among their students were to be found westerners like Peter of Abano, fourteenth century medical writer, who completed his education in the Byzantine capital<sup>46</sup>. The city was also a centre for treatment, as emerges from the report of the captain of a Venetian galley on a voyage from Trebizond to Constantinople in 1413. Among the passengers was a Turk who claimed he was making the journey in order to have his eyes attended to<sup>47</sup>. As in the case of the silk industry, therefore, Byzantium's loss of pre-eminence did not mean that medical practice died out in Constantinople.

<sup>43</sup> H. Delehay, *Deux typica byzantins de l'époque des Paléologues* (Brussels, 1921), pp. 106-36; Miller, *Birth of the Hospital*, p. 200.

<sup>44</sup> C.O. Zuretti, *Catalogus Codicum Astrologorum Graecorum*, vol. 11: *Codices Hispanienses* (Brussels, 1932), pp. 38-41; H. Hunger, *Katalog der Griechischen Handschriften der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek*, vol. 2 (Vienna, 1969), p. 40. On Chortasmenos see: H. Hunger, *Johannes Chortasmenos, Wiener Byzantinischen Studien*, 7 (Vienna, 1969).

<sup>45</sup> E. Jeanselme, 'Sur un aide-mémoire de thérapeutique byzantin contenu dans un manuscrit de la Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris', *Mélanges C. Diehl* (Paris, 1930), vol. 1, pp. 168-9. On the place of physicians in late Byzantine society see: E. Trapp, 'Die Stellung der Ärzte in der Gesellschaft der Palaiologenzeit', *Byzantinoslavica*, 33 (1972), 230-4.

<sup>46</sup> Constantinides, *Higher Education*, p. 81; Cammelli, *I dotti bizantini. II: Giovanni Argiropulo*, p. 33; Thorndike, *History of Magic*, vol. 1, p. 877.

<sup>47</sup> ASV Senato, Secreta reg. 6, f. 31v: '... quendam Turchum qui dixit velle venire Constantinopolim pro faciendo sibi mederi pro egritudine oculorum quam patiebatur'. On the treatment of eye disorders in Byzantium, see: J. Hirschberg, *Geschichte der Augenheilkunde* (Leipzig, 1899), pp. 361-7; E. Savage-Smith, 'Hellenistic and Byzantine ophthalmology: trachama and sequelae', *DOP*, 38 (1984), 169-86.



Turning to the second point, the uneven knowledge of Greek medical literature in the West, it would seem that, although most of the works of the ancient writers were known by 1400, they were not available everywhere in Latin translation and few would have been able to read them in the original. Only when they were published by the Aldine press, early in the sixteenth century, did they attain a wide distribution, while some, like the writings of the second century Ephesian gynaecologist, Soranos, were virtually unknown before they were printed<sup>48</sup>. So while Chaucer portrayed the physician in the *Canterbury Tales* as a 'verray, parfit praktisour' who was well acquainted with the works of the ancient Greek authorities, there were still many who based their practice on folk-lore and superstition<sup>49</sup>.

This would account for the final point, the presence in Western Europe during this period of numerous Greek physicians. Some worked in Italy, sometimes in the employ of their compatriots in exile but sometimes, like Christodoulos of Thessalonica and George Gavriopoulos who were given permission to practice in the territories of Florence and Venice, they seem to have been able to build up a practice among the local population<sup>50</sup>.

They occur more frequently outside Italy, perhaps because standards were lower there, and were often in the service of people of high rank. Demetrius de Cerno and Thomas Frank practised in England and France, Demetrius probably attending on the countess of Kent in 1424, Thomas on Cardinal Beaufort, two wealthy Italian merchants and, finally, on the king of France<sup>51</sup>. Michael Dishypatos was in the pay of

<sup>48</sup> A.A. Renouard, *Annales de l'imprimerie des Alde*, vol. 1 (Paris, 1803), pp. 251-2; Geanakoplos, *Greek Scholars*, pp. 208, 210.

<sup>49</sup> *The Works of Geoffrey Chaucer*, ed. F.N. Robinson (Oxford, 1957), p. 21 (General Prologue): 'Wel knew he the olde Esculapius and Deyscorides and eek Rufus, olde Ypocras, Haly and Galyen ...'; C. Rawcliffe, 'Medicine and medical practice in later medieval London', *Guildhall Studies in London History*, 5 (1981), 13-23.

<sup>50</sup> ASV Consiglio dei Dieci, Misti reg. 23, f. 125 (orig. 95); Misti reg. 27, f. 123v (orig. 81v); Iorga, *Notes et extraits*, vol. 2, p. 411; Pardos, 'Ἀλφάβητικὸς Κατάλογος - 1. Ἀνδρες', 341. Filelfo's scribe Demetrius Xanthopoulos was apparently also a physician and the children of Thomas Palaeologus brought with them their own medical adviser from Corfu: LPP, vol. 4, p. 274; Mohler, *Kardinal Bessarion*, vol. 3, p. 533; VG, p. 104.

<sup>51</sup> GL ms 9171/4, ff. 168v, 210; AN JJ181, no. XLV, f. 24v; PPC, vol. 3, pp. 160-1; *Register of Henry Chichele*, vol. 2, p. 281; Talbot and Hammond, pp. 34-5; *Foedera*, vol. 5, pt. 1, p. 33 (= X, 650); CPR (1429-36), p. 604; CPL, vol. 9, pp. 112,

Jean Lageret, a prominent bourgeois of Chambéry, in 1417 and Serapion, a physician in the service of the king of Scotland in the 1460s sounds by his name to have been a Greek<sup>52</sup>. In 1458 the government of Ragusa went so far as to retain the services of Andreas Spata of Constantinople so that he could act as medical adviser to all the citizens<sup>53</sup>. Others, of whom less is known, were John of Crete and Manuel Marullos in Ragusa, John 'le Grec' who may have practised in France and Nicolas 'Rayes' in Coventry. One might also include the grimly named Armenian surgeon, John 'Sans pitié', who was summoned to Brussels in 1462 for a consultation with the duke of Burgundy, since he may well have been influenced by the Byzantine medical tradition<sup>54</sup>.

The fact that these physicians were often in the service of the wealthy and powerful certainly suggests that their services were worth having. This impression is reinforced by the extraordinarily positive tone in which they are described in contemporary documents. The Venetian Council of Ten commended George Gavriopoulos as 'a most skilful surgeon' (*cirurgicus solertissimus*) and the Senate even tried to poach Andreas Spata from Ragusa so that he would work on Corfu instead<sup>55</sup>. The Florentine government paid tribute to the many cures achieved by Christodoulos of Thessalonica, especially for eye disorders which, as we have already seen, were a Byzantine speciality<sup>56</sup>.

186; Hamy, 'Thomas de Coron', 199-201.

<sup>52</sup> AN P1359/2, no. 769 (100); Huillard-Breholles, *Titres*, vol. 2, pp. 209-10; *Exchequer Rolls of Scotland*, vol. 6, pp. 3, 12, 580, 625, 641, vol. 7, pp. 34, 144, 150. On Jean Lageret and his extensive property in Chambéry see: Queen Marie-José, 'Un capitaliste du XVe siècle: Jean Lageret, conseiller d'Amédée VIII, duc de Savoie', *Bulletin Philologique et Historique du Comité des Travaux Historiques et Scientifiques*, 1 (1960), 461-9.

<sup>53</sup> ASV Senato, Mar reg. 8, f. 87v; Krekić, *Dubrovnik*, no. 1365, p. 398, no. 1368, p. 399; Sathas, *Documents*, vol. 5, p. 221.

<sup>54</sup> ADN B2045, f. 267; CPR (1494-1509), pp. 396, 403; E. Wickersheimer, *Dictionnaire biographique des médecins en France au moyen âge* (Paris, 1936), pp. 434, 553; R. Jeremić and J. Tadić, *Prilozi za istoriju zdravstvene kulture starog Dubrovnika*, vol. 3 (Belgrade, 1940), pp. 141-2; M.J. McGann 'Reading Horace in the Quattrocento: The Hymn to Mars of Michael Marullus', *Homage to Horace. A Bimillenary Celebration*, ed. J.J. Harrison (Oxford, 1995), pp. 329-47, esp. pp. 330-1.

<sup>55</sup> ASV Consiglio dei Dieci, Misti reg. 23, f. 125 (orig. 95), Senato, Mar reg. 8, f. 87; Sathas, *Documents*, vol. 5, p. 221.

<sup>56</sup> Iorga, *Notes et extraits*, vol. 2, p. 411 citing Archivio di Stato, Florence, Carte della Signoria reg. 35, f. 108: '...in nostra et in aliis que sub nostra ditione sunt multa preclara et saluberrima sue artis documenta fecerit suisque colliris medicamentisque multarum oculos lippitudine affectos aut nubecula quadam obscuratos aut denique



Yet none of this is conclusive proof that Greek physicians were transmitting a superior, Byzantine medical practice. They were, after all, by no means the only doctors to find employment outside their own country, as the career of the Portuguese Peter de Altobasso in England demonstrates<sup>57</sup>. Many of the Greeks were not from Byzantium at all but from the Venetian colonies, so that they may have received their training in Italy and not have represented any Byzantine tradition at all<sup>58</sup>. Finally, there is also at least one example of one of their not being well received: Michael Dishypatos was alleged to have taken advantage of the credulity of his patron, Jean Lageret, supplying him with charms which were supposed to enhance his influence over the duke of Savoy<sup>59</sup>.

The essential point in assessing the significance of these emigre physicians, however, is the extent to which they based their medical practice on the body of literature which Byzantium had inherited from Antiquity. As educated Greeks, they would have been able to read the medical authors in the original and so may have contributed to the dissemination of Greek medical expertise throughout Europe, a task also being done by some of the scribes in Italy, Crete and Corfu who often included medical texts among the manuscripts they copied<sup>60</sup>. While, in

turgidos stillantesque humore illustraverit, absterserit ac demum siccos sanosque reddiderit...'. Cf above p. 163

<sup>57</sup> Peter was a native of the town of Alcobaça who was entrusted with the care of one of the French prisoners captured at Agincourt in 1415 by Henry V: *Issues of the Exchequer from King Henry III*, p. 355; Talbot and Hammond, pp. 246-7. Portugal had, of course, inherited something of Arab medical practice.

<sup>58</sup> As did George Carrerio of Nicosia who graduated as a Doctor of Medicine at the University of Padua in 1411: *Acta Graduum Academicorum Patavini*, vol. 1, no. 179, p. 73.

<sup>59</sup> AN P1359/2, no. 769 (100): '... convenit pactaque et convenciones fecit cum domino Johanne Lagereti, Legum Doctore, mediantibus pecuniis dicti domini Johannis, quod ipse magister Michael faceret et fabricaret figuras et ymages virtutes et potestates que sequuntur habentes seu habere debentes; et primo unam figuram auream que figuram talem efficaciam ac virtutem haberet quod quandocumque dominus Johannes Lagereti super se portaret in presencia domini nostri Ducis Sabaudie, dictus dominus noster Sabaudie Dux haberet dictum dominum Johannem multum in gracia sua ...'. On the resulting trial of Lageret and Dishypatos for sorcery, see: F. Cognasso, 'Un processo per sortilegio alla corte di Amedeo VIII', *Bollettino Storico Bibliografico Subalpino*, 26 (1924), 165-72.

<sup>60</sup> Demetrius Trivolis made a copy of the works of Dioscorides on Corfu in 1481 and Michael Apostolis supplied manuscripts of Galen for the library of Bessarion: Apostolis, *Lettres*, no. 70, p. 88; VG, pp. 105-6, 118; Geanakoplos, *Greek Scholars*, pp. 89-90.

the case of most of them, there is no evidence at all as to how they reached their diagnoses or decided on prescriptions, it would be unwise to write them all off as quacks, given their success in attracting the patronage of powerful figures who would have been in a position to select only the best. Moreover, in one case, that of Thomas Frank, there are strong indications that as a Greek physician he brought with him a greater familiarity with the ancient tradition than was available locally.

Thomas had been the personal physician of the French king, Charles VII, since 1451<sup>61</sup> but it is the events of 1456, the last year of his life, which are the most significant in this respect. In June 1456 Tommaso Tebaldi, the ambassador of the duke of Milan was despatched to the French court on a delicate assignment concerning French claims to the duchy. Filelfo provided him with a letter of recommendation addressed to Thomas Frank, in which he urged the Greek physician to use his influence with the king to ensure the success of the mission<sup>62</sup>. Tebaldi was well aware of Thomas's importance in the French court. On 12 July he wrote to his master, Francesco Sforza, that:

Master Thomas the Greek who has as much influence with the king and the whole court as you have with me, recommends himself to Your Lordship and he reminds you of his book on medicine and that other little book which treats of the kinds of poisons. I urge Your Lordship to send them by one of your household couriers and to make much of him with letters and emissaries because he merits it and it cannot but help<sup>63</sup>.

Everything was being done to make Thomas favourable to the Milanese cause so that it seems likely that the books referred to by Tebaldi were to be gifts for either for the French king or for the physician himself. Whoever they were originally intended for, it was not Thomas who ultimately received them, for according to another of Tebaldi's despatches he suffered a stroke at Lyons in October and died six days

<sup>61</sup> BN ms français 32511, f. 141; ms français 10371, ff. 8v, 22v, 33v; AN JJ181, no. XLV, f. 24v; Hamy, 'Thomas de Coron', 199-201. For the wages paid to him between 1452 and 1456 see: BN ms français 32511, ff. 155, 156v, 163v, 165, 173, 174v, 179, 189v.

<sup>62</sup> Filelfo, *Epistolae* (1506), bk. XIII, nones June 1456.

<sup>63</sup> P.M. Kendall and V. Ilardi, *Dispatches with Related Documents of Milanese Ambassadors in France and Burgundy, 1450-83*, vol. 1 (Athens, Ohio, 1970), p. 206.



later<sup>64</sup>. The Milanese therefore decided to present the books to Charles VII and, early in 1457, Sforza wrote to inform him that he would shortly be presented with some treatises on the virtues of herbs and oils<sup>65</sup>. Tebaldi later reported that the king had been most pleased with the gift, keeping the books in his own chamber:

His majesty replied to me very graciously, first, that he did not remember Master Thomas having ever spoken to him about the books but that he was most pleased with what Thomas had done for he is very happy to have the books and will treasure them<sup>66</sup>.

The episode of the books is highly suggestive. It is plain from Tebaldi's words that Thomas knew in advance that the books were being prepared in Milan and since one of them is described as 'his' book on medicine, it is likely that Thomas was their author. The Milanese probably hoped to flatter Thomas or ingratiate themselves with the king by presenting one of them with a fine copy of the physician's work. The subject matter of the books is also worth noting for the 'treatise on the virtues of herbs and oils' strongly implies the work of Dioscorides who wrote on the properties of medicinal herbs in the first century A.D. It therefore seems a reasonable guess that these works were either Latin translations of Greek texts or epitomes of medical knowledge made by Thomas Frank after the Byzantine fashion.

As long as the original manuscripts alluded to by Tebaldi remain undiscovered, this theory cannot be proved but it does reinforce the general impression of Thomas as a learned man as suggested by his association with Filelfo and Maffeo Vegio and by the fact that after his death his possessions were found to consist mainly of books<sup>67</sup>. It is not incongruous, therefore, to see him in the role of Theodore of Tarsus and the Patriarch Elias of Jerusalem who had passed their advice on herbal remedies to the English so many centuries before. There is every indication that the French would have held his advice in respect. In the

<sup>64</sup> Despatch of 7 December 1456. Text in G. d'Adda, *Indagini storiche, artistiche e bibliografiche sulla Libreria Visconteo-Sforzesca del castello di Pavia* (Milan, 1875), appendix (1879), pp. 27-9; *Lettres de Louis XI*, vol. 1, p. 276; trans. Kendall and Ilardi, *Dispatches*, vol. 1, pp. 246-8.

<sup>65</sup> BN ms italien 1595, f. 140; ms italien 1604, ff. 297-297v.

<sup>66</sup> Despatch of 14 February 1457. Text in d'Adda, *Indagini*, appendix, pp. 30-1; trans. Kendall and Ilardi, *Dispatches*, vol. 1, pp. 258-60.

<sup>67</sup> D'Adda, *Indagini*, appendix, pp. 27-9; Kendall and Ilardi, *Dispatches*, vol. 1, pp. 246-8. On Thomas's literary interests, see above p. 135.

medical faculty of the University of Paris, the work of the thirteenth century Byzantine writer, Nicolas Myrepsos, was still being used as late as 1651<sup>68</sup>.

## 2. Shipbuilding and navigation

While there is strong evidence that a high standard of medical skill was preserved in Constantinople right up to the end of the Empire, as far as shipbuilding and navigation are concerned contemporary writers have left a much gloomier picture. According to Nicephorus Gregoras, state finances had been reduced to such a parlous state by the reign of Andronicus II (1282-1328), that the emperor made drastic cuts in the imperial fleet, hoping to rely henceforth on his Genoese allies for seaward defence. His successor Andronicus III (1328-41) made some attempt to revive the fleet but the civil wars which followed his death led to its further neglect. By the 1440s Bessarion could list shipbuilding as one of the crafts which the Byzantines would have to relearn from Italy and his comments have generally been taken literally by modern scholars<sup>69</sup>.

Yet, as in the case of silk production, Bessarion seems to have painted an unduly dark picture. In the first place, there were still imperial ships and people capable of operating them in the fifteenth century. Byzantium furnished ten galleys to assist the Crusade of Nicopolis in 1396 and John VIII Palaeologus was able to call upon a fleet to repulse a Genoese attack on Constantinople. Even as late as April 1453, a few Byzantines were involved in the defence of the besieged city<sup>70</sup>.

Secondly, in spite of the weakness of the Byzantine fleet, there were still plenty of Greeks around with seafaring skills in the later Middle Ages. They were commonly found pursuing careers of piracy in the Mediterranean. In 1491 a Spanish merchant ship was taken over in Damietta harbour by a marauder named Lascaris and the Barbarossa brothers, who terrorised Christian shipping from their bases on the Barbary Coast in the early sixteenth century, were probably also of Greek

<sup>68</sup> J. Theodorides, 'La science byzantine', *Histoire générale des sciences*, ed. R. Taton, vol. 1 (Paris, 1966), p. 555.

<sup>69</sup> Gregoras, bk. IV, ch. 3, vol. 1, p. 174; *LPP*, vol. 4, p. 32; Keller, 'Byzantine Admirer', 346-7; H. Ahrweiler, *Byzance et la Mer* (Paris, 1966), pp. 374-81; Ostrogorsky, *History*, pp. 483, 485, 491, 507, 525; Nicol, *Byzantium and Venice*, p. 288.

<sup>70</sup> Chalcocondyles, bk. VI, pp. 284-6; Ducas, ch. XXXVIII, pp. 268-9; M. Silberschmidt, *Das orientalische Problem zur Zeit der Entstehung des türkischen Reiches nach venezianischen Quellen* (Leipzig, 1923), p. 163.



extraction<sup>71</sup>. Rouen seems to have been the home port of 'Nicolas Famileti, dit le Grec', to judge by a number of documents which mention him. He was probably the 'Nicolas de Grecia' behind a number of piratical incidents involving Spanish, Portuguese and Hanseatic vessels which occurred in the 1490s and prompted a series of angry complaints to the king of France<sup>72</sup>. Others plied a more respectable trade as merchants. Many of the Greek traders who put in at Venetian and Ottoman ports in the late fifteenth century evidently owned and sailed their own vessels, and the Greek church in Venice was paid for by levying a tax on their ships<sup>73</sup>.

Greeks were also commonly found serving in the navies of foreign powers, especially those of the Turkish emirates and of Venice<sup>74</sup>. As in the case of the stradioti, they appear to have been highly valued, often occupying the highest levels of command. As early as the twelfth century, the Greek, Eugenius of Palermo, had served the Norman kings of Sicily as an admiral and others attained similar positions in the Ottoman and Venetian fleets. Meshih Pasha who led the Turkish naval assault against Rhodes in 1480 was a member of the Palaeologus family and another of Mehmed II's admirals, named Iagoup, must also have been of Byzantine origin. In the war of 1499-1501 several Greeks commanded vessels in the fleet sent by Venice to do battle with the Turks<sup>75</sup>.

Not only did Greeks man foreign fleets, they often built them too. A twelfth century Turkish emir, Tzachas, employed Smyrniot labour to

<sup>71</sup> *Documentos sobre relaciones*, vol. 3, no. 41, pp. 396-7; Setton, *Papacy and Levant*, vol. 3, p. 234.

<sup>72</sup> AD5M 1 B57, ff. 28, 249, 326; *Hansarecesse von 1477-1530*, ed. D. Schäfer, vol. 2 (Leipzig, 1883), no. 521, p. 617; Mollat, *Commerce maritime*, p. 491.

<sup>73</sup> K. Panagiotopoulos, 'Ἑλληνες ναυτικοὶ καὶ πλοιοκτῆτες ἀπὸ τὰ παλαιότερα οἰκονομικὰ βιβλία τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς ἀδελφότητος Βενετίας', *Th*, 11 (1974), 284-352; Antoniadis, 'Πορίσματα', 466-87; Pardos, 'Ἀλφαριθμητικὸς Κατάλογος - 1. Ἄνδρες', 322; Inalcik, *Ottoman Empire*, p. 132.

<sup>74</sup> ASV Consiglio dei Dieci, Misti reg. 23, f. 59 (orig. 30) names George of Constantinople and Stamati de la Valona as mariners on a vessel belonging to Giovanni Garona de Avalona. Cretans were often found manning Venetian ships: Browning, 'A note', 379-87; Zachariadou, 'Holy war', 216.

<sup>75</sup> Critoboulos, bk. IV, ch. 2, p. 154; Mustafa Ibn Abd Allah, *History of the Maritime Wars of the Turks*, trans. J. Mitchell (London, 1831), pp. 18-19; F. Babinger, *Eine Verfügung des Paläologen, Châss Murâd Paşa von Mitte Regeb 876h = Dez/Jan 1471/2* (Berlin, 1952); M. Gigante, 'Il tema dell'instabilità della vita nel primo carne di Eugenio di Palermo', *Byzantion*, 33 (1963), 325-56; G. Cogo, 'La guerra di Venezia contro i Turchi (1499-1501)', *Nuovo Archivio Veneto*, 19 (1900), 97-138, esp. 135-6.

build his fleet when he decided to take to the sea in his war against the Byzantines and his Ottoman successors also made use of Greeks in this way. A *tahrir* register for Gallipoli, dated 1474, records large numbers of them at this important naval base. They included rowers and arbalesters to serve on the vessels but also a contingent of ninety five to construct and repair them<sup>76</sup>. It is generally thought that Greek shipwrights played a very important part in the dramatic expansion of the Ottoman fleet which took place after the fall of Constantinople. The numerous Greek nautical terms which have passed into the Turkish language certainly suggest that the availability of Greek expertise had a profound influence on the empire's development as a maritime power<sup>77</sup>.

Yet the Turks were a people who had originated in central Asia and who had only needed to build a fleet for the first time in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. They had to rely on whatever local expertise was available, in the absence of any of their own. The fifteenth century West was a very different case. The Italian maritime republics, especially Venice, the so-called 'queen of the Adriatic', were among the foremost naval powers of the period. It seems difficult, at first sight, to believe that states like Venice or Genoa could be in any way indebted to refugees from the crumbling Byzantine Empire. In this regard two points need to be made.

First, Byzantine naval technology had probably influenced developments in the West in earlier centuries, when the Empire was an important naval power and there had been a large shipbuilding arsenal in Constantinople<sup>78</sup>. By contrast, up to the eleventh century, few Latin

<sup>76</sup> Anna Comnena, bk. VII, ch. 8, vol. 1, p. 361; H. Inalcik, 'Gelibolu', *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, ed. B. Lewis, C. Pellat and J. Schacht, vol. 2 (Leiden and London, 1965, 2nd ed.), pp. 983-7; Vryonis, *Decline*, p. 211.

<sup>77</sup> The Turkish word *liman*, for example, meaning a port or harbour is derived from the Greek λιμήν; H. Kahane, R. Kahane and A. Tietze, *The Lingua Franca in the Levant - Turkish Nautical Terms of Italian and Greek Origin* (Urbana, 1958), pp. 14-15, 535-8; Vryonis, *Decline*, p. 239.

<sup>78</sup> Ahrweiler, *Byzance et la mer*, pp. 419-39; J.H. Pryor, *Geography, Technology and War* (Cambridge, 1988), pp. 57-60; B.M. Kreutz, 'Ships, shipping and the implications of change in the early medieval Mediterranean', *Viator*, 7 (1976), 79-109, esp. 95. It was during this period that Byzantine shipwrights gradually made the transition from 'shell first' to 'frame first' construction, presumably in order to be able to construct ships faster: Pryor, *Geography*, pp. 26-7; Kreutz, 'Ships', 104-5; G.F. Bass and F.H. Van Doorninck, 'An 11th century shipwreck at Serçe Liman, Turkey', *International Journal of Nautical Archaeology and Underwater Exploration*, 7 (1978), 119-32.



rulers had any ships at their disposal, so that, when it did develop, western naval technology derived a great deal from that of Byzantium, including its vocabulary. The very term 'Galley' was originally derived from the Greek γαλέα<sup>79</sup>. Nor is it difficult to imagine how such linguistic influence entered western vernacular languages. If Greek artists had worked in Venice in the ninth to the twelfth centuries, why not shipwrights too?

Secondly, although Byzantium had declined as a naval power, Greek shipwrights continued to be employed by Westerners during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Between 1381 and 1460, Sergius 'Protomartii', John 'Samandora' and Isidore Maxios all served the Genoese rulers of Chios in this capacity and in 1501 Stephen Bardas was employed as a shipwright by the Hospitallers on Rhodes<sup>80</sup>. In the first half of the fifteenth century, there were also Greek shipwrights working in Venice. Leo, 'prothomagister galearum in Creta' may have been one of them, and in the city itself, a dynasty of Greek shipbuilders rose to great influence in this period. Theodore 'Baxon' or Bassanos, his nephew, Nicolas Palopanos and the latter's son George worked in succession in the city's shipyards between c.1400 and 1455<sup>81</sup>.

The surviving information on these people suggests that their skills were highly prized. In 1404 the Venetian Senate guaranteed Theodore Bassanos his salary for life, in order to induce him to teach his craft to others<sup>82</sup>. His designs were clearly considered to be superior to anything that local shipwrights could produce, and the Senate was haunted by the fear that, now that he was advancing in years, his secrets might die with him. In 1407 it was decided that a number of his vessels should be preserved in the Arsenal for emergencies and to provide models for future

<sup>79</sup> Kreutz, 'Ships', 92; H. Kahane and R. Kahane, 'Two nautical terms of Greek origin: "Typhoon" and "Galley"', *Etymologica - Walther von Wartburg zum siebzigsten Geburtstag* (Tubingen, 1958), pp. 417-39, esp. p. 428.

<sup>80</sup> National Archives of Malta, Order of St. John, Cod. 393 (Liber Bullarum), ff. 159-160v (orig. 160-161v); P.P. Argenti, *The Occupation of Chios by the Genoese* (Cambridge, 1958), vol. 1, p. 648 citing Archivio di Stato, Genoa Notaio Antonio Fellone, Reg. 3, f. 145; Notaio Tommaso de Recco, filza 2, no. 63; Notaio Bernardo de Ferrari, filza 1, no. 303.

<sup>81</sup> ASV Senato, Misti reg. 56, f. 1; Lane, *Venetian Ships*, pp. 56-9.

<sup>82</sup> ASV Patroni e Provveditori all'Arsenal, Busta 566, Quaderno dei Salariadi, f. 7v.

craftsmen<sup>83</sup>. Some of them were still there some twenty five years later and Bassanos's designs were still studied at the end of the century<sup>84</sup>.

Even so, when Bassanos did die, it was felt to be imperative for another member of his family to take his place. When it was discovered that his nephew, Nicolas Palopanos, was living on Rhodes and was a master in the art of making light galleys, great efforts were made to secure his services<sup>85</sup>. A representative was despatched to collect him and he was promised a salary of two hundred ducats a year<sup>86</sup>. When other shipwrights at the Arsenal, perhaps out of jealousy of a foreigner, obstructed his work, Palopanos had only to complain to the Senate who at once intervened to ensure that he had the artisans he needed<sup>87</sup>.

The Senate had no cause to regret either its expenditure or its condescension. In August 1432, Palopanos was set to work alongside a Venetian shipwright, Master Bernardo to build twenty galleys of the *bastarde* and *bastardelle* types<sup>88</sup>. Five years later, when the completed vessels had been tried and tested, the Senate was so impressed by those

<sup>83</sup> ASV Senato, Misti, reg. 47, f. 109v; Misti reg. 52, f. 72: 'Cum alias in 1407 X Aprilis captum foret in hoc consilio quod aliqua ex novem galeis fabricatis per quondam Magistrum Bassanum, respectu mensure et qualitatis fabrice non possent dari extra arsenatum sine deliberatione duarum partium Consilii Rogatorum, cum pro conservando illas in casibus, opportunitatis tum quia forent exemplum et magisterium aliis magistris ...'.

<sup>84</sup> ASV Senato, Misti reg. 55, f. 81v; Misti reg. 58, f. 60 (orig. 58); G.B. Dosio et al, *Ragioni antiche spettanti all'arte del mare et fabriche de vasselli - manoscritto nautico del sec. XV* (Venice, 1987), p. 21: 'Questa h  la mexura de la gallia de maistro Thodoro ditto Bassom la quel fe' maistro Thomao de Bochasso'. From National Maritime Museum, Greenwich ms NVT 19, written between c.1470 and c.1509.

<sup>85</sup> ASV Senato, Misti reg. 47, f. 155: 'Cum habeatur informationem quod in Rodo est quidem nepos quondam magistri Bassani, prothomagistri galearum subtilium in nostro arsenatu, quem fertur esse magnum et solemnem magistrum in fabricando de dictis galeis subtilibus'. For a possible relative of his on Rhodes, see Setton, *Papacy and Levant*, vol. 2, p. 358, n. 38.

<sup>86</sup> ASV Senato, Misti reg. 56, f. 1; Misti reg. 57, f. 201: '... sollicitavimus habere et ipsum de Rodo retrahere ubi primo habitabat ut staret in domo nostra per medium viri nobilis quondam Ser Francisci Bembo, militis tunc capitanei nostri generalis Culphi et dantur sibi ducati ducenti auri singulo anno ...'.

<sup>87</sup> ASV Senato, Misti reg. 57, f. 201: '... videtur sibi quod in domo nostra predicta non bene tractetur non aliter nisi quia cum vult habere aliquos secum ad laborandum galeas per illos officiales Arsenatus impeditur.' It was therefore commanded that '... patroni arsenatus debeant dare Magistro Nicole illas magistrancias et manuales que sibi erunt necessarie ...'.

<sup>88</sup> ASV Senato, Misti reg. 58, f. 140v (orig. 136v).



built by Palopanos that they ordered that all shipwrights in the Arsenal should change their designs to those of the Greek on pain of a fine of five hundred ducats<sup>89</sup>. On the same day, 4 June, a proposal to place Palopanos on an equal footing with Master Bernardo was voted down<sup>90</sup>.

Nicolas Palopanos died soon after and was succeeded in 1437 by his son George, who enjoyed similar, privileged status. He was given 150 ducats on 8 August 1437, to cover the expenses of medical treatment and burial of his father and allowed the same house and salary that Nicolas had enjoyed<sup>91</sup>. Finally, in 1442 George Palopanos received the supreme honour of being elected sole foreman of the ship carpenters by direct intervention of the Senate<sup>92</sup>.

There can be no doubt, therefore, of the value placed by the government of Venice on services of these Greek shipwrights. It is more difficult to ascertain exactly what it was that made them superior to local craftsmen but some attempt can be made. Bassanos and Nicolas Palopanos appear to have specialised in building what were known as *galee subtile*, the lighter vessels built for use in war<sup>93</sup>, and a treatise on naval architecture, the *Fabbrica di Galere*, written in about 1410, gives the measurements for one such built by Bassanos. Although as high and as wide as contemporary Venetian galleys, it was much heavier, having ninety five frames or ribs in the hull as opposed to the more usual eighty four. On the basis of this evidence, F.C. Lane suggested that their skill lay in constructing ships which were stronger without sacrificing any of the speed<sup>94</sup>.

<sup>89</sup> ASV Senato, Misti reg. 60, f. 17: 'Cum per experientiam cognoscatur quod omnes galee nostri Arsenatus, tam grosse quam subtile, que facte sunt per magistrum Nicolaum Grecum sint optime ac veloces ad vella, remos ac in omni actu navigandi, et alie galee facte per alios magistros seu prothomagistros nichil valent, vel modicum...'

<sup>90</sup> ASV Senato, Misti reg. 60, f. 17.

<sup>91</sup> ASV Senato, Misti reg. 60, f. 31: '... filio quondam Magistri Nicole qui erat prothomagistri in nostro arsenatu cui accepta fuerunt quasi omnia que habebat in domo tam propter expensam factam in sepultura dicti sui patris quam pro expensis medicorum et medicinarum ... dare debeant ducatos centumquingenta.' Ibid. f. 87v. In March the following year the Senate paid some of his debts: ASV Senato, Misti reg. 60, f. 66.

<sup>92</sup> ASV Senato, Mar reg. 1, f. 101v; Lane, *Venetian Ships*, pp. 57-9.

<sup>93</sup> ASV Senato, Misti reg. 47, f. 155; Misti reg. 55, f. 20.

<sup>94</sup> Lane, *Venetian Ships*, pp. 56-7 citing Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Florence, Coll. Magliabecchiana, cl. XIX, cod. 7 (*Fabbrica di Galere*), ff. 81-2. See also A. Chioggiato, 'Contenuti delle architetture navale antiche', *Ateneo Veneto*, ns 29 (1991),

George Palopanos, on the other hand, was involved in building large merchant galleys, the *galee grosse*. He was working on one such vessel around the time of his father's death and he was later commissioned to build several more<sup>95</sup>. As Lane has noted, his activity in this field coincided with the increase in size of Venetian merchant galleys from four to five or six thousandweights so that he may have been instrumental in bringing this change about<sup>96</sup>.

Bessarion's belief that the Greeks would have to relearn the craft of shipbuilding from the Italians, appears, therefore, to have been wildly inaccurate. The dichotomy may, perhaps, be explained by the inability of the Byzantine government to pay such high salaries to shipwrights as those offered by the Venetians. All the best talent had simply drained abroad, leaving Byzantium critically short of skilled men.

The lack of a successor to George Palopanos may indicate that, by then, Venetian shipwrights were able to produce vessels as good as or better than those built by the Greek masters. Elsewhere in Europe, however, shipbuilding proficiency is unlikely to have excelled that of Venice, the most advanced maritime power of the age. Thus, a generation after the death of George Palopanos, the French king, Louis XI, went to Byzantine refugee named George Palaeologus Dishypatos or, to give him his French epithet, 'Georges de Bissipat, dit le Grec'<sup>97</sup>.

Like the Greek shipwrights of Venice, Dishypatos was made most welcome and overwhelmed with offices and revenues. From at least 1473, he held the post of Vicomte of the town of Falaise in Normandy<sup>98</sup> and

141-211.

<sup>95</sup> ASV Senato, Misti reg. 60, ff. 41v-42, 130v, 170, 202: '... patroni Arsenatu debeant deputare magistro Georgio Greco pro fabricandis dictis quattuor galeis grossis ...'. See also ASV Senato, Mar reg. 1, f. 13v.

<sup>96</sup> ASV Senato, Misti reg. 60, f. 250v (orig. 249v), dated 7 September 1440 where the Senate ordered that merchant galleys were not to exceed 440 thousandweights because they were 'periculose, inutiles et tarde'. However, those which had already been started could be completed. See Lane, *Venetian Ships*, p. 59.

<sup>97</sup> Very little has been written on the career of Dishypatos, apart from: Du Cange, *Historia Byzantina*, p. 256; M. Renet, 'Les Bissipat du Beauvaisis', *Mémoires de la Société Académique d'Archéologie, Sciences et Arts du Département de l'Oise*, 14 (1889), 31-98.

<sup>98</sup> BN ms français 26940 (pièces originales, 456), cote 293. An inscription dated 1499, originally in the church of Les Yveteaux, near Argentan (Orne), records that Jean Vauquelin served under Dishypatos while he was Vicomte of Falaise: 'Hic jacet nobilissimus vir Joannes Vauquelin, Fralini filius, eques, dominus des Yveteaus, urbis



the Captaincy of the castle of Touques near Honfleur<sup>99</sup> as well as briefly enjoying the revenues of the Vicomté of Auge and the Captaincy of Lisieux<sup>100</sup>. The office of King's chamberlain was conferred upon him, along with an annual pension of one hundred livres and a house in Bordeaux<sup>101</sup>.

These honours secured him a great deal of wealth and influence, enabling him to make an advantageous marriage alliance with Marguerite of Poix in 1480, by which he came into possession of the manor of Hannaches, near Beauvais. He seems to have marked his acquisition with the construction of a new chateau, for since the present brick building dates from the late fifteenth century, it is likely that it was built in his lifetime and on his orders<sup>102</sup>. Moreover, Dishypatos was generous with his wealth, on one occasion helping to pay off a heavy tax burden incurred by the city of Beauvais, so that it was natural that Andronicus Callistus should appeal to his compatriot in France to provide the ransom money for George Hermonymos in 1476<sup>103</sup>.

How can we account for such astonishing success? At least part of the answer may lie in the fact that, from the earliest years of his service with the French king, Dishypatos had been involved in naval

et vicecomitatus Faleziae protector sub illustrissimo Georgio Paleologo, ab Imperatoribus Bizantinis oriundo qui, capta a Turcis Constantinopoli, in Galliam profugus, a Rege Gubernator Faleziae effectus ...', BN ms français 29430 (pièces originales, 2946), cote 65429, f. 113v; G. de Contades, *Les Yveteaux et la maison de Vauquelin* (Paris, 1894), p. 5, n. 1.

<sup>99</sup> AN JJ211, no. CCCXCXVI, f. 110v; BN ms français 26840 (pièces originales 356), cote 7701, nos. 3-7; J.H. Roman, *Inventaire des sceaux de la collection des pièces originales du Cabinet de Titres à la Bibliothèque Nationale*, vol. 1 (Paris, 1909), no. 1518, p. 174.

<sup>100</sup> BN ms français 26840, cote 7701, no. 2; AN PP110, f. 447; Renet, 'Les Bissipat', 45-7; H. de Formeville, *Histoire de l'ancien évêché-comté de Lisieux* (Lisieux, 1873), p. 557. He may also have served as an ambassador. A 'George the Greek' is mentioned as the bearer of letters from the king of France to England in 1494, only he fell ill in the way: *Letters and Papers Illustrative of the Reigns of Richard III and Henry VII*, vol. 2, p. 292.

<sup>101</sup> BN ms français 20685, f. 596; AN PP110, f. 398; *Archives historiques du département de la Gironde*, vol. 50 (Paris and Bordeaux, 1915), p. 557.

<sup>102</sup> All these details come from Renet, 'Les Bissipat', 50-2, 56-8 and are based on material from the communal archives of the city of Beauvais. Regrettably, these archives were completely destroyed in 1940, so that Renet's references cannot now be checked.

<sup>103</sup> Callistus, *Epistola ad Georgium*, cols. 1017-20; Renet, 'Les Bissipat', 95-6 and above p. 143.

operations. In May 1476 he took part in an expedition against the Spanish<sup>104</sup> and, later in his career, in piratical raids on the ships of Venice and the Hanseatic league. He was probably one of those responsible for an incident which took place off Cape St. Vincent on 21 August 1485 when four Venetian Flanders galleys were attacked and their cargoes seized and transferred onto French vessels. The identity of the perpetrators is not entirely clear, most Venetian accounts mentioning an individual called 'Colombo'<sup>105</sup>. Some, however, make it clear that a Greek was involved, although he is referred to variously as 'Joannes Greco', 'Nicolo Griego' and 'Zorzi Griego'<sup>106</sup>. The fact presence of a Greek in French ships, long before the known activity of Nicolas Famileti, makes it most probable that Dishypatos was the individual in question.

Whatever the truth of Dishypatos's part in that particular episode, there can be little doubt that he was one of those captains in French service who preyed upon merchant shipping. In 1487 and 1491 the Council of Danzig placed the blame for the seizure of two of their vessels firmly on the shoulders of 'Jorgze Greck' and the Italian community in London strongly suspected him of harbouring designs against their interests. The reason for George Hermonymos's arrest in 1476, was that the Italians there believed that he was spying for the Greek captain and reporting the movements of their ships<sup>107</sup>. Such activity by their subjects was probably not unpleasing to monarchs of the time. Although in the case of the Flanders galleys the king of France was compelled to make restitution<sup>108</sup>, the persistence of such raids by captains in his service suggests his tacit acquiescence.

Dishypatos appears to have enjoyed exceptional trust from Louis XI. In 1477, for example, he was made responsible for carrying out a particularly delicate task. Alfonso V of Portugal had been unwise enough to intervene in a civil war in Spain and, on suffering a severe reverse had

<sup>104</sup> *Inventaire-sommaire des archives départementales antérieures à 1790* (Basses Pyrénées), ed. M. Raymond, vol. 4 (Paris, 1867), p. 20, col. 2.

<sup>105</sup> ASV Consiglio dei Dieci, Misti reg. 22, f. 208v (orig. 172v); Malipiero, *Annali*, vol. 2, pp. 620-2.

<sup>106</sup> ASV Senato, Secreta reg. 32, f. 170-170v, 184v; Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Venice, Cod. Ital. VII 801 (7152), ff. 254v-255, 262v; CSP (Ven), (1202-1509), no. 498-9, p. 155, no. 504, p. 157, no. 510, p. 161.

<sup>107</sup> Callistus, *Epistola ad Georgium*, col. 1017; *Hansisches Urkundenbuch*, vol. 11, nos. 427-8, pp. 297-8.

<sup>108</sup> ASV Senato, Secreta reg. 32, ff. 184, 188-188v; Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Venice, Cod. Ital. VII 801 (7152), f. 262v; CSP (Ven), (1202-1509), nos. 505, 508, 510, pp. 158-61.



fled to France to seek Louis's help. This was not forthcoming and to rid himself of his embarrassing guest, Louis ordered Dishypatos to prepare a fleet to carry Alfonso back to his native country<sup>109</sup>. 15 September was set as the departure date of the fleet, although it was not until the middle of November that Alfonso safely disembarked at Cascaes<sup>110</sup>. Dishypatos was granted denizenship at Tours shortly afterwards, which suggests that he had carried out his mission to the king's satisfaction<sup>111</sup>.

Another naval expedition entrusted to Dishypatos would, at the time, have been regarded as being of even greater importance. During the year 1482-3, the sum of six hundred livres was made over to him to 'faire armer et equiper deux navires et une barque que le roy envoya lors en l'isle vert querir aucunes choses qui touchoient très fort le bien et santé de sa personne'<sup>112</sup>.

There has been much speculation as to the whereabouts of this 'green island' and what it was that was so vital to Louis's health. The Cape Verde islands have been suggested as the destination and turtles' blood as the commodity sought after, since the latter was reputed to cure leprosy, from which Louis suffered<sup>113</sup>. Whatever the truth of this, it is likely that the expedition never sailed or that if it did, it returned too late, for Louis died on 4 August 1483. The significance of the episode lies rather in Louis's particular choice of Dishypatos for a mission which probably involved a long and dangerous voyage and which, as the king no doubt sincerely believed, held the key to his own continued well-being. There can be no doubt that, in such a situation, Louis would have chosen whoever he regarded as the best captain available.

Dishypatos's skills were not restricted to navigation. From 1475 he was drawing the sum of eight hundred livres per annum from the French treasury as captain of the king's own ship, *La Normande* or *La Signe*<sup>114</sup>. These payments were not only to remunerate the Greek captain

<sup>109</sup> A. Guesnon, *Inventaire chronologique des chartes de la ville d'Arras* (No date), p. 313; Philippe de Commines, *Memoirs*, vol. 1, p. 321.  
<sup>110</sup> BN ms français 27697 (pièces originales 1213), Dossier Foudras no. 3; ms français 6984, f. 350; Zurita, *Anales*, bk. XX, ch. 13, vol. 4, f. 285v.  
<sup>111</sup> AN JJ203, no. V; BN ms français 6984, f. 466; Renet, 'Les Bissipat', pp. 42-4.  
<sup>112</sup> BN ms français 20685, f. 737.  
<sup>113</sup> C. de la Roncière, 'Les navigations françaises au XVe siècle', *Bulletin de Géographie Historique et Descriptive*, 10 (1895), 183-213, esp. 190-1; Renet, 'Les Bissipat', 49-50.

<sup>114</sup> BN ms français 32511, f. 396v; ms français 26840, cote 7701, no. 4; *Catalogue analytique des archives de M. le Baron Joursanvault*, vol. 1 (Paris, 1838), no. 1610, p. 294.

but to provide for the maintenance of the vessel which appears to have been his sole responsibility<sup>115</sup>. Moreover, Dishypatos had apparently 'bought' the vessel, which could be used as a warship, in the first place<sup>116</sup>. It is unlikely that Dishypatos purchased such a ship second-hand and by 'bought' the documents may well mean that he paid for and oversaw its construction. Could it be then that Dishypatos introduced into France an advanced type galley similar to those which Bassanos, Nicolas and George Palopanos had built in Venice? This would certainly account for the high favours which he received there and it is tempting to see Byzantine shipbuilding techniques as following the pattern of transmission first to Italy and then to the rest of Europe.

Indeed, it is quite possible that Dishypatos himself came to France by this route. His aristocratic Byzantine name implies that he was originally from Constantinople. Andronicus Callistus claimed to have known his parents and several bearers of the Dishypatos name had served as imperial ambassadors in the West in the earlier part of the century<sup>117</sup>. The family may, therefore, have been able to benefit from links established in the West when they were forced to leave their own country<sup>118</sup>. After the fall of Constantinople, there was at least one branch of the family in Rome. A George Dishypatos of Constantinople was appointed abbot of a monastery in Palermo by the Pope in 1462 and in 1469 Bessarion provided a dowry for the daughter of another, deceased, George of the same name<sup>119</sup>. It is possible that the future vicomte of Falaise was the son of this latter George, for Dishypatos maintained his connection with Rome during his residence in France, securing knighthoods for his sons from Andreas Palaeologus in 1481<sup>120</sup>. The fact

<sup>115</sup> BN ms français 23266, f. 16: 'pour l'entretien d'une nef appartenant audit feu seigneur (i.e. Louis XI) dont il a charge et garde'.  
<sup>116</sup> BN ms français 26840, cote 7701, no. 2; Renet, 'Les Bissipat', 46: '... lequel de nostre vouloir et commandement, il a achatté, pour nous servir sur mer, ou fait de la guerre...'.  
<sup>117</sup> Callistus, *Epistola ad Georgium*, col. 1018; Iorga, *Notes et extraits*, vol. 2, pp. 53-4; *Official Correspondence of Thomas Bekynton*, vol. 2, p. 27. A genealogy of the 'Bissipat' family, drawn up in 1682, is preserved in the BN but it is largely based on supposition for the period before 1453: BN ms français 30927 (Cabinet d'Hozier, XLVI), cote 1137, ff. 2-3.

<sup>118</sup> There is, for example, a note in Latin on a fifteenth century Greek manuscript, written by a 'Georgius Lascaris Bissipatus' and dedicating the work to a 'vir elegantissimus': BN ms grec 2039, f. 50.  
<sup>119</sup> ASVat Armario 34, vol. 6, ff. 68v-69; Reg. Vat. 485, ff. 17-18v.  
<sup>120</sup> BN ms français 30927 (Cabinet d'Hozier, XLVI), cote 1137, ff. 4-5.



that Dishypatos first appears in France in 1473 also points in the same direction, suggesting that he, like so many others, may have left Rome after the death of Bessarion<sup>121</sup>.

In view of the lack of specific evidence as to the exact nature of the great ship maintained by Dishypatos, his contribution to the development of shipbuilding in France cannot be properly assessed. Nevertheless, as this section has shown, a Byzantine tradition of shipbuilding had survived into the fifteenth century<sup>122</sup>. There are, therefore, good grounds for seeing him as following a parallel course to that of George Hermonymos, beginning in Rome, passing ultimately to France and carrying with him another aspect of the society from which he originally came.

### 3. The fine arts: gold wire drawing

Throughout the Middle Ages Byzantine craftsmen had excelled in the production of beautiful artifacts yet, as has been shown in the case of painting, although such expertise was maintained up to the end of the empire and although some Byzantine artists were able to make a living for themselves in other countries, it would seem that the development of western art owed nothing to Byzantium after about 1300. In this final section, however, it will be suggested that, in one specialised craft at least, Byzantine exiles brought with them a technique which hitherto had not been practised in the West.

During the fifteenth and early sixteenth century there were a number of Greek immigrants scattered over Europe who were all pursuing the same trade. In Venice, the second most common profession of those who contributed to the funds of the Scuola was that of *tiraoro* while

<sup>121</sup> There is, however, some evidence for Dishypatos having arrived in France rather earlier than the 1470s, such as numerous references to a George Palaeologus as a refugee in the years 1455-60: BN ms français 32511, ff. 184, 191. Gilles-André de Laroque, *Histoire généalogique de la maison de Harcourt* (Paris, 1662), vol. 2, pp. 1151-2 alludes to a document which describes 'Georges de Bissipat' as Vicomte of Falaise as early as 1460 but gives no further details.

<sup>122</sup> The survival of this tradition is further attested by the *Fabbrica di Galere* which draws a distinction between 'Greek' and 'Latin' vessels. Even during the following century, the English shipwright, Matthew Baker noted with interest the designs of Greek vessels while touring the Mediterranean: Magdalene College, Cambridge, PL 2820, p. 12; R.C. Anderson, 'Jal's "Mémoire no. 5" and the manuscript "Fabbrica di Galere"', *The Mariner's Mirror*, 31 (1945), 160-7, esp. 162. I am indebted to Stephen Johnston of the Science Museum, London, for the former reference.

among some Italian silk workers invited to France by Louis XI in 1480 was a Greek named James Catacalon, who was described as a *tireur d'or*<sup>123</sup>. In London the two Effomatos brothers, Andronicus and Alexius, who figured so prominently in the Alien Subsidy records discussed earlier, were labelled *ouverriers d'or de damaske, golddrawrs auri Damasci* or 'goldwire drawers'<sup>124</sup>. It is evident that *tiraoro*, *tireur d'or* and 'goldwire drawer' are merely different words for the same thing.

It seems safe to assume, therefore, that these people were all producing the same commodity. It was probably similar to modern 'gold wire' which is produced by pulling a bar of the metal through a die set with increasingly small holes<sup>125</sup>. Throughout the Byzantine period, craftsmen in Constantinople made use of gold wire in their work. It was often employed as inlay or damascening in metalwork as in the bronze doors of the church of San Paolo fuori le Mura in Rome which were cast in Constantinople in 1070<sup>126</sup>.

Gold wire was also used in Constantinople as thread in textiles as early as the fourth century A.D.<sup>127</sup>. Byzantine embroiderers used two types of gold and silver thread in their work. One, the *chryssonima*, was made by hammering thin strips of the metal and winding them around a

<sup>123</sup> *Ordonnances des rois de France*, vol. 20, pp. 592-4; Pardos, 'Ἀλφαβητικὸς Κατάλογος - 1. Ἀνδρες', 322-4, 363; Nicolas 'dall'Arta' and Nicolas 'da Corfu' were *tiraori* in Venice in 1501 and 1505.

<sup>124</sup> PRO E28/74/11; C76/127, membrane 10; C54/323, membrane 17v; E179/264/34, f. 4, E179/242/25, f. 10; *Foedera*, vol. 5, pt. I, p. 139 (= XI, 77); CCR (1468-76), no. 752, p. 203. See above p. 34ff.

<sup>125</sup> The process is described in more detail in H.E. Wulff, *The Traditional Crafts of Persia* (Cambridge, Mass. and London, 1966), pp. 40-4; J. Beckmann, *A History of Inventions, Discoveries and Origins*, trans. W. Johnston, vol. 1 (London, 1846), pp. 414-24.

<sup>126</sup> The gold inlay has now disappeared, but its original presence can be detected from the fact that the ornamentation is incised into the metal rather than in relief. The wire would have been inserted into these incisions to highlight the outline of the figures: A.L. Frothingham, 'A Syrian artist, author of the bronze doors at St. Paul's, Rome', *American Journal of Archaeology*, 18 (1914), 484-91.

<sup>127</sup> Tiberius Claudius Donatus, *Interpretationes Vergilianae*, ed. H. Georg, *Bibliotheca Scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana*, bk. XI, line 777, vol. 2 (Leipzig, 1906), p. 529: '... nam qui barbaricarii dicuntur, exprimentes ex auro et coloratis filis hominum formas et diversorum animalium aut specierum imitatem subtilitate veritatem'.



core of silk thread and so did not involve the drawing process<sup>128</sup>. The other type, however, contained gold wire which was flattened and then spun around the thread, as has been clearly revealed by a scientific examination of an embroidered belt, believed to have been made in Thessalonica in the fourteenth century and recently acquired by the British Museum. The tests revealed that all three samples of thread contained wire, rather than thin strips and that sometimes the wire was used by itself as thread without being twisted around a fibre core<sup>129</sup>.

Several examples such handiwork survive from the last two centuries of the empire, the period which produced some of the finest examples of Byzantine embroidery. Among them are the patriarchal vestment known as the 'Dalmatic of Charlemagne', now in the Vatican, the Patmos Stole and the *Epitaphios* of Thessalonica<sup>130</sup>. According to the fourteenth century Arab traveller, Ibn Battuta, the Greek women of Laodicea in Asia Minor were famous for their gold embroidered cloths<sup>131</sup>.

The reputation of Byzantine craftsmen in this field extended as far as Western Europe where, in the earlier Middle Ages, gold embroidered textiles seem to have been associated with the Greek world. They were often described as 'silk wrought with gold and silver of Cyprus'. A Middle High German Epic poem, describing the gifts brought to King Arthur's court from all over the world, mentions that from Greece came 'fine fabrics ... woven with gold'<sup>132</sup>. The high value which was placed on them emerges from the rules for foreign merchants visiting the

<sup>128</sup> P. Johnstone, *The Byzantine Tradition in Church Embroidery* (London, 1967), p. 68. This seems to have been the process used to make Aaron's Ephod in Exodus 39: 2-3.

<sup>129</sup> British Museum M&LA 1990, 12-1,1. Results of analysis made on 28 January 1992. I am indebted to Hero Granger-Taylor of the British Museum for providing me with this information. See also *Byzantium. Treasures of Byzantine Art and Culture*, ed. D. Buckton (London, 1994), pp. 208-11; Wulff, *Traditional Crafts*, pp. 40-7; Johnstone, *Byzantine Tradition*, p. 68.

<sup>130</sup> Beckwith, *Early Christian and Byzantine Art*, pp. 334-9; Johnstone, *Byzantine Tradition*, p. 119, pls. 31-4; L. Bouras, 'The Epitaphios of Thessaloniki, Byzantine Museum of Athens no. 685', *L'art de Thessalonique et des pays balkaniques et les courants spirituels au XIVE siècle - recueil des rapports du IVe colloque serbo-grec, Belgrade 1985* (Belgrade, 1987), pp. 211-31.

<sup>131</sup> Ibn Battuta, vol. 2, p. 425.

<sup>132</sup> *Rotuli Parliamentorum*, vol. 4 (London, 1767), p. 255; Heinrich von dem Türlin, *The Crown*, trans. J.W. Thomas (Lincoln, Nebraska and London, 1989), p. 8; Kahane, Kahane, Pietrangeli, 'Cultural criteria', pp. 205-6.

port of London in the early thirteenth century. Among them was the stipulation that they had to tie up their ships at London Bridge and wait until the sheriff and the king's chamberlain had inspected their wares. If they included any *pailles* or gold cloths from Constantinople, these were to be taken at once for the king's use<sup>133</sup>. A few examples of such expensive imports still survive in cathedral treasuries<sup>134</sup>.

Yet although the quality of Byzantine gold fabrics had far excelled anything which was produced in the West in the earlier Middle Ages, by the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries gold embroidered cloth of the highest standard was being produced all over Europe. Various centres in Italy specialised in it, especially Lucca whose 'draps d'or de Lucques' are frequently encountered in inventories<sup>135</sup>. Some of the finest gold embroidered ecclesiastical vestments were made in England and were famous throughout Europe as *Opus Anglicanum*<sup>136</sup>. The making of fine gold cloth was not, therefore, something over which Byzantium had a monopoly in the later Middle Ages.

However, it is unlikely that the Greek gold wire drawers of Venice, Tours and London, had anything to do with the making of finished textiles. The various labels applied their craft indicate rather that they specialised in making the thread which was used in the cloth rather than the fabric itself. The words *ouverriers d'or de damaske* and *golddrawr auri damasci* imply that the gold wire which they produced would be used in textiles, *draps d'or de damas* or 'gold damask' being

<sup>133</sup> M. Bateson, 'A London municipal collection from the reign of King John', *EHR*, 17 (1902), 480-511, esp. 496, 499. The word *pailles* was often used to denote gold embroidered cloth from Alexandria in Egypt but also from Greece: F. Michel, *Recherches sur le commerce, la fabrication et l'usage des étoffes de soie, d'or et d'argent*, vol. 1 (Paris, 1852), pp. 275-8.

<sup>134</sup> The Shroud of St. Siviard, now in the treasury of the Sens cathedral, is an eighth century Byzantine fabric containing gold thread: E. Chartraire, *Le trésor de la cathédrale de Sens* (Paris, 1925), p. 10, pl. 42; Beckwith, *Early Christian and Byzantine Art*, p. 218.

<sup>135</sup> L. Douët-d'Arcq, *Nouveau recueil de comptes de l'argenterie des rois de France* (Paris, 1874), p. 2; Herald, *Renaissance Dress*, pp. 78-9.

<sup>136</sup> Matthew Paris, *Chronica Maiora*, vol. 4, pp. 546-7; Riley, *Memorials*, p. 52; A.G.I. Christie, *English Medieval Embroidery* (Oxford, 1938), pp. 1-30, p. 38. It is worth mentioning in passing that gold embroidered cloth had been produced in England for centuries, the tenth century stole and maniple from the tomb of St. Cuthbert being the earliest known examples: Battiscombe, *Relics of St. Cuthbert*, pp. 375-7.



one of the names given to gold embroidered cloth<sup>137</sup>. The fact that the gold wire drawer, James Catacalon, arrived in Tours in the company of Italian silk workers in 1480, suggests that he was involved in the making of thread to be used in the fabrics produced by his colleagues. In this, the emigre gold wire drawers, especially those in France and England, may have been producing something which was not made by local craftsmen.

Gold thread was certainly made in France and England in the later Middle Ages. A group of artisans known as 'batteurs d'or et d'argent à filer' is known to have existed in thirteenth century Paris<sup>138</sup>. It is possible, however, that the Greeks were producing a different kind of thread from that usually employed in western embroideries. While, as has been shown, Byzantine craftsmen used two types of gold thread, that made by winding strips of gold around a core of silk (*chryssonima*) and the gold wire type, western embroiderers seem to have generally used either the former or another variant, consisting of gilded animal gut<sup>139</sup>. The wiredrawing process was certainly known and practised in England, at least, by the fourteenth century but there does not seem to be any evidence that it was used to produce gold wire for use in thread<sup>140</sup>.

Drawn gold thread had certain advantages over the type which used hammered strips. It was more sparing in its use of gold. The wire produced an attractive polychrome effect when mingled with the silk threads. Lastly thread made with wire would probably have been stronger and less inclined to wear out. Indeed, Ibn Battuta claimed that the gold cloths of Laodicea were famous precisely because of the strength of their spun thread<sup>141</sup>.

The inferiority of the thread produced by native craftsmen would account for the importation of large amounts of *fil d'or* into both France

<sup>137</sup> Douët d'Arcq, *Nouveau recueil*, p. 142; Herald, *Renaissance dress*, pp. 73, 78-9.

<sup>138</sup> Étienne Boileau, *Le livre des métiers*, ed. R. de Lespinasse and F. Bonnardot (Paris, 1879), pp. 63-4.

<sup>139</sup> W.N. Bonds, 'Genoese noblewomen and gold thread manufacture', *Medievalia et Humanistica*, 17 (1966), 79-81; M. Járó, 'Gold embroidery and fabrics in Europe: XI-XIV centuries', *Gold Bulletin*, 23 (1990), 40-57, esp. 45.

<sup>140</sup> There are occasional mentions of wire drawers in English documents: *Register of the Freeman of the City of York*, ed. F. Collins, vol. 1, *Surtees Society*, 96 (London, Durham and Edinburgh, 1896), p. 53; M. Campbell, 'Gold, silver and precious stones', *English Medieval Industries - Craftsmen, Techniques, Products*, ed. J. Blair and N. Ramsey (London, 1991), pp. 107-66, esp. pp. 132-4.

<sup>141</sup> Ibn Battuta, vol. 2, p. 425. These aspects of gold thread were culled from conversations with Andrew Oddy and Hero Granger-Taylor of the British Museum.

and England throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Some foreign merchants settled in London even specialised exclusively in its import<sup>142</sup>. It would seem that James Catacalon and the Effomatos brothers were taking advantage of the situation by offering their skills in an area of great demand.

It now has to be considered whether the gold wire drawers had any long term impact on their host countries: whether they were responsible for a transfer of their skills to native craftsmen, as the shipwrights, Bassanos and Palopanos, seem to have been in Venice. This is difficult to prove conclusively, but it is certainly implied by the evidence. The names given to the finished product, for example, show that it was associated both with the Greek world and with Venice. It was known as *fil d'or et d'argent de Chippre* or simply 'Cyprus gold' and 'Venice gold' or 'ribbons of gold of Venice'<sup>143</sup>. The presence of so many *tiraori* among the Greek community of Venice by the end of the fifteenth century, further suggests that this was an industry which had originally flourished in the Republic's Greek colonies and which had now become established in Venice itself.

As far as England is concerned, further support for this theory comes from the fact that, by the 1600s, the late fifteenth century was perceived as the time when this commodity had first been made in London.

When, in 1611 King James I granted to certain individuals a patent of monopoly conceding sole rights over the manufacture of gold and silver thread by this process<sup>144</sup>, the monopoly aroused intense opposition from members of the Goldsmiths' Company because, they said, the process covered by the patent was not a new one, developed by the

<sup>142</sup> Rotuli Parliamentorum, vol. 3, p. 47; LP, vol. 1, pt. 1, no. 1494 (13), p. 683; W. Heyd, *Histoire du commerce du Levant au moyen âge*, vol. 2 (Leipzig, 1886), pp. 677-8.

<sup>143</sup> Rotuli Parliamentorum, vol. 4, p. 255, vol. 6, p. 437; Douët-d'Arcq, *Nouveau recueil*, p. 193; CSP (Dom), (1611-18), p. 33; *Register of Edward, the Black Prince*, vol. 4 (London, 1933), p. 325.

<sup>144</sup> CSP (Dom), (1611-18), pp. 33, 343; S.R. Gardiner, 'On four letters from Lord Bacon to Christian IV, King of Denmark, together with observations on the part taken by him in the grants of monopolies made by James I', *Archaeologia*, 41, pt. 1 (1867), 237-8, 239-40; M.A. Abrams, 'The English gold and silver thread monopolies, 1611-21', *Journal of Economic and Business History*, 3 (1930-1), 382-406. That the process of making drawn gold thread was in dispute here is implied by the description of it by the goldsmiths as the 'drawing, millinge, flattting, whippinge or spinninge of Gould and silver threed': PRO E112/100/1113, ff. 2, 6; Gardiner, 'Four letters', 244.



patentees, but one which had been practised by members of their company in London for many years. To prove their point, the goldsmiths were not only able to produce several aged individuals who swore that they had made thread with drawn gold during the reign of the previous monarch, but they also found documentary proof from beyond living memory, referring to an act of Common Council of 12 October 1463 which forbade alien gold wire drawers to maintain shops within the confines of the city of London<sup>145</sup>. Given the date of the document, these alien gold wire drawers would have included the Effomatos brothers who are known from the Alien Subsidy records to have been resident in the city at that time<sup>146</sup>. It cannot be without significance, therefore, that even in the early seventeenth century, makers of drawn gold thread regarded the earliest evidence for their craft being practised in London as coming from the period when these Byzantine immigrants were living in London.

There is further evidence to suggest that the seventeenth century goldsmiths were correct in thinking that the origins of the craft of manufacturing drawn gold thread dated from that time. The earliest mention of a native English gold wire drawer, rather than an alien, appears in a document dated 14 December 1476, only thirteen years after the act mentioning alien practitioners of this craft. It is a deed of gift made between John Framlingham and his wife, Anne and concerns a set of tools belonging to 'the craft of werking of wyre, called goldwyredrawing' which had originally belonged to Anne but became her husband's property on their marriage. The agreement aimed to safeguard Anne's right to use the tools, stipulating that it was she who was 'to rule and gyde the said instrumentes and occupacion and all thynges concernyng the same'<sup>147</sup>.

<sup>145</sup> PRO E112/100/1113, f. 2: '... a Common Council in the seid citty held in October in the third year of the late king Edward the forwthe's raigne enacts that the forreyner gouldwyredrawers should remove to Blancheappelton and should hould noe shoppes in the publique and frequent places of the seid citty'; Gardiner, 'Four letters', 244-5; *Journals of the House of Commons*, vol. 1 (1547-1629), p. 543. The original is summarised in *Calendar of Letter Books of the City of London. Letter Book L*, ed. R.R. Sharpe (London, 1912), p. 37.

<sup>146</sup> Both Andreas and Andronicus Effomatos appear in the lists of aliens compiled on 23 April 1464: PRO E179/144/68. Among others affected by the Act must have been the alien gold wire drawer, Manntrot, mentioned in *Goldsmiths' Company Archives*, Minute Book A (1444-1516), pp. 121-2.

<sup>147</sup> *Calendar of Plea and Memoranda Rolls of the City of London, (1458-82)*, p. 112-13.

Moreover, it would seem that the craft being followed by Anne Framlingham was not just the making of gold wire, but the use of it in gold thread. The tools were listed in the deed and they included six great irons, thirteen small irons and two anvils. It is these irons and anvils which suggest that Anne made gold thread for they would have been used to flatten the wire before it was wound into the fibres<sup>148</sup>.

Nowhere are we told how Anne Framlingham learned her craft, although she may have practised it with her first husband, James<sup>149</sup>. However, we do know that her appearance as the first English gold wire drawer coincides with the period during which the Effomatos brothers were in London since the Alien Subsidy records show that one or both of the Byzantine craftsmen were resident in London from at least 1441 until after 1483<sup>150</sup>. It is even possible that Anne learned her trade from them, it not being unknown for young girls to be placed under a foreign craftsman as apprentices<sup>151</sup>. They may also have had some influence on later English gold wire drawers like John Woodward and Robert Salterston, as well as on the fact that gold wire was increasingly used in English embroidery in the sixteenth century<sup>152</sup>.

This is, of course, a theory which cannot be conclusively proven. If it were correct, however, it would not be an isolated instance of foreign craftsmen contributing to the development of an industry in England nor of the transfer of specialised skills from East to West through Venice<sup>153</sup>.

<sup>148</sup> Ibid.; Wulff, *Traditional Crafts*, pp. 45-6.

<sup>149</sup> He is mentioned in Anne's will, dated 28 February 1500: GL 9171/8, ff. 215v-216v.

<sup>150</sup> PRO E179/144/42, f. 25; E179/242/25, f. 10; E179/264/34, f. 5.

<sup>151</sup> During the reign of Elizabeth, ten year old Mary Forsett worked under a Frenchman to learn, among other things, how to make gold thread: Gardiner, 'Four letters', 244.

<sup>152</sup> GL 9171/10, f. 20; CCR (1485-1500), no. 941, p. 276. All the metal threads in two small panels embroidered with the arms of Henry VIII and now in the British Museum (M&LA 1895, 8-10, 37) are based on wire. Once again, my source of information is Hero Granger-Taylor.

<sup>153</sup> See, for example: L. Williams, 'Aliens and industry in Tudor England', *Proceedings of the Huguenot Society of London*, 19 (1956), 146-69. On the transfer of Byzantine glass-making techniques from Corinth to Venice in the thirteenth century, see: A.E. Laiou, 'Venice as a centre of trade and artistic production in the thirteenth century', *Il medio oriente e l'occidente nell'arte del XIII secolo*, ed. H. Belting (Bologna, 1982), pp. 11-26, esp. pp. 14-15.



#### 4. Conclusion

In the cases of medicine, shipbuilding and gold wire drawing, the evidence for transmission of Byzantine expertise to the West can never be as clear cut as that of Greek language and literature. Working outside the literary sphere, these emigres had no Leonardo Bruni or Vespasiano da Bisticci to sing their praises and left no tangible monuments, as Theodore Gaza did his Grammar and George of Trebizond his translations. Thanks to the evidence from archival sources discussed here, their existence can at least be recognised and a strong case made for a significant contribution to developments in their fields.

#### Conclusion

This work initially set out to build on that of Howard Gray, by examining western archival records as a source for Greek immigration into the West during the fifteenth century. In the process some neglected aspects of this question have been highlighted.

It has been shown, for example, from the English Alien Subsidy records that this was a phenomenon by no means confined to Italy, as a small pocket of Greeks lived in London, and probably in other important cities, in close association with the Italian communities. Secular and ecclesiastical documents, recording payments of alms and letters of indulgence, throw light on one of the reasons why Greeks should wish to come to the West at all, bearing witness to the widespread sympathy which existed towards them. Numerous documents from Italy, France and England provide information on hitherto obscure or unknown individuals like Nicolas Palopanos, George Palaeologus Dishypatos and the Effomatos brothers, proving that the high-profile emigres like Cardinal Bessarion and Thomas Palaeologus, do not constitute the whole picture.

Yet the evidence discussed in this book does more than merely add details to what might be thought a peripheral and unimportant topic. As the later chapters have sought to show, it is, in fact, of great significance for our understanding of the cultural relations between Byzantium and the West in the last phase of the empire's existence. That significance has often been underestimated in modern works which, by basing their accounts solely on literary sources, have often taken a very critical view of the emigres. The third chapter of this work aimed to show how unfair that picture is, contrasting literary accounts with the archival evidence.

With this negative view amended, it is possible to appreciate the very positive contribution which the immigrant Greeks made to their adopted societies. Not only did their activities as scribes and teachers of Greek promote a knowledge of the classical language in Italy, France and England: there are also good grounds for believing, on the basis of evidence discussed in chapter five, that they made a similar contribution to developments in medicine, shipbuilding and the manufacture of gold thread. In view of this, the common axiom that Byzantium had been totally overshadowed by the West by 1400, not only in terms of political power, but also of culture and technology, stands in need of some revision.



## Appendix I

### INDULGENCE OF PIUS II ON BEHALF OF ALEXANDER ASANES

(26 September 1459: ASVat Reg. Vat. 472, f. 334v. orig. 332v).

Pius etc. universis Christi fidelibus presentes literas inspecturis, salutem etc.

Romani pontificis precellens auctoritas omni pietate et miseratione referta cum animarum salutis profectu benemeritis Christi fidelibus celestis dispositionem thesauri subvenire non omittit et auxilia eis presidia pro ut meruerunt salubrius impartiri. Cum itaque post miserabilem stragem Stalemini et aliarum multarum insularum maritimarum in Grecia constitutarum ac urbis Constantinopolitane per Turchorum sui principis ditioni eversionem et christifidelium multo numero per eosdem Turchos invasionem necnon eorum Christi fidelium captivitatis et servitutis subiectionem, dilectus filius Alexander Assani quem, sicut accepimus, verdense memorie Paleologus olim Romeorum alias Grecorum Imperator dum in humanis ageret propter dicti Alexandri strenuitatem et merita, adoptivum tamquam carnalem appellabat; quique Alexander sua industria insulas huiusmodi ab eodem principe suis nomine et vice gubernandas sub certis annuo censu arrendavit, illasque dilecto filio nostro Ludovico, titulo Sancti Laurentii in Damaso prebitero cardinali, camerario nostro, in illis ac aliis orientalibus partibus, apostolice sedis legato ac suo exercitui maritimo recuperandi et ab eadem subiectione liberandi occasionem adinvenit, Ludovicum cardinalem legatum et exercitum huiusmodi honorifice suscipiendo eumque uxorem et filios in misera Constantinopolis captivitate amiserit.

Nos cupientes eundem Alexandrum merito ob promisset recompensare ac Christi fideles spiritualibus gratiarum muneribus ad subveniendum eidem Alexandro invitare ac tam sibi quam eisdem Christi fidelibus pro recompensatione et mercede meriti huiusmodi pia subsidia erogantibus omnibus et singulis utriusque sexus Christi fidelibus civitatum, terrarum, castrorum, villarum et locorum aliorum ditioni dilecti filii nobilis viri Ducis Burgundie ac provincie Coloniensis subiectis aliquod subsidium honestum secundum quod conscientia eorum dictaverit eis dicto Alexandro pro recompensa meriti huiusmodi tribuentibus unum annum de innunctis eis penitentiis misericorditer relaxamus, presentibus post biennium minime valituris. Datum Mantue, anno etc. millesimo CCCCLVIII, sexto kalende Octobris, pontificatus nostri anno secundo.

Gratia de mandato D.N. Pape. C. fidelis. B. de Brendis.

[In margine]: (supra) Ja. Lucensis (infra) Septembris.



## Appendix II

INDULGENCES OF ARCHBISHOP BOOTH ON BEHALF OF JOHN  
JERARCHIS, THOMAS EPARCHOS AND GEORGE DIPLOVATATZES  
(20 February 1454/5: BI Reg. 20, ff. 167-168).

[In margine]: Litera indulgencie pro Johanne Jerarchis de Constantinopolitane civitatis.

Universis Sancte Matris Ecclesie filiis presentes literas nostras visuris vel audituris Willelmus permissione divina etc. salutem in omnium salvatore. Cum dilectus nobis in Christo nobilis vir Johannes Jerarchis illius inclitissime Constantinopolitane civitatis civis diveque memorie Constantini ultimi eiusdem inclitissime civitatis Imperatoris scutifer in illa crudeli ac seva expugnacione eiusdem civitatis iam nuper per illum nephrandissimum Theucrum ac complices suos facta pro ut ex literis reverendissimorum in Christo patrum Dominici dei gratia titulo Sancte Crucis in Jerusalem et Alaini titulo Sancte Praxedis presbiterorum sancte romane ecclesie cardinalium suis sigillis communalibus deprehendimus liculenter a dicta civitate bonis suis omnibus spoliatus per eosdem orthodoxe fidei nostre crudelissimos adversarios Theucros non habeat unde vel inopiam vitam suam huiusmodi in aliquo relevet aut sustentet nisi a Christi fidelibus eiusdem orthodoxe fidei nostre professoribus et alumpnis piis elemosinarum largitionibus pie ac gracose succurrantur eidem ut igitur universos orthodoxe fidei professores et alumpnos huiusmodi prefertim per nostras civitatem diocesem aut provinciam Eboraci ubiliter constitutos ad opus tam pium proclimiores reddamus et in dicti Johannis subsidium et relevamen propensuis exitemus.

De Dei omnipotentis immensa misericordia et beatissime Marie Virginis matris sue ac beatorum Petri et Pauli apostolorum eius necnon sanctorum confessorum Willelmi, Johannis et Wilfridi patronorum nostrorum omniumque sanctorum sacris meritis et precibus confidentes cunctis christianiculis per nostras civitatem diocesem et provinciam Eboraci ubiliter constitutis de peccatis suis vere penitentibus contritis et confessis qui in subsidium dicti Johannis Jerarchis aliqua de bonis suis contulerint seu legaverint quadraginta dies indulgencie gracose concedimus per presentes ad unum annum post datum presencium tantummodo duraturis. In cuius rei testimonium sigillum nostrum fecimus hiis apponiri. Datum in hospicio nostro prope Westmonesterium vicesimo die mensis Februarii anno domini millesimo CCCCmo quinquagesimo quarto nostrorumque consecrationis anno octavo et translationis tercio.



[In margine]: Litera indulgencie concessa Thome Eparchus et Georgio Diplovatagius civibus Constantinopolitane civitatis.

Universis Sancte Matris Ecclesie filiis ad quos presentes littere nostre pervenerint Willelmus permissione divina etc. salutem in omnium salvatore. Cum Thomas Eparchus et Georgius Diplovatagius nuper illius inclitissime civitatis Constantinopolitane cives sicut ex tenore litterarum reverendissimi patris et domini B. Cardinalis Tusculani necnon reverendi in Christo patris et domini Reynaldi Wormatiensis episcopi suis sigillis signatis liculenter didiscimus in illa deploranda calamitosaque expugnatione eiusdem inclitissime civitatis per illos orthodoxe fidei nostre crudelissimos persecutores Theucros facta uxoris, liberis, bonis, ac possessionibus suis per eosdem spoliati uxores, liberos, patriam, domos et agros suos relinquere aut sub dira ac crudeli servitute eorumdem degere coacti sunt; quo fiebat ut ipsi seculi rebus uxoris atque liberis anime sue saltem merito antiponentes Christo domino ipsius orthodoxe fidei nostre quam tanto tempore ipsi ac presentes eorumdem incoluerant auctori propria patria exules magis apud exterras nationes in paupertate tranquille deservire quam sub nequandissimis in dira ac crudeli servitute degere maluerint.

Que nos ad exacte pie que considerationis aciem reducentes dignum duximus ipsos apud nos eiusdem religionis cultores et alumpnos in suis necessitatibus huiusmodi pie relevari ac graciose et favorabiliter pertractati debere. Quocirca universitatem vestram ex intimis rogamus et obsecramus in domino Jhesu quatinus cum eosdem Thomam et Georgium ad vos vel loca vestra pro elemosinis querendis declinare contigerit eosdem eiusdem nostre religionis sacratissime intuitu gratanter suscipiatis et benigne ac favorabiliter pertractetis eos in necessitatibus suis ut Christi fideles ad huiusmodi pietatis opera uberius eisdem impendenda propensius excitemus.

De Dei igitur omnipotentis immensa misericordia et beatissime Marie Virginis matris sue ac beatorum Petri et Pauli apostolorum eius necnon sanctorum confessorum Willelmi, Johannis et Wilfridi patronorum nostrorum omniumque sanctorum sacris meritis et precibus confidentes cunctis christianiculis per nostras civitatem diocesem et provinciam Eboraci ubiliter constitutis de peccatis suis vere penitentibus contritis et confessis qui in subsidium dictorum Thome et Georgii ad relevandas inopias et necessitates suas huiusmodi aliqua de bonis suis contulerint quadraginta dies indulgencie concedimus per presentes ad unum annum post datum presencium tantummodo duraturis. In cuius rei testimonium sigillum nostrum fecimus hiis apponiri. Datum in hospicio nostro prope Westmonasterium vicesimo quarto mensis Februarii anno domini millesimo CCCCmo quinquagesimo quarto nostrorumque consecrationis anno octavo et translationis tercio.

### Appendix III

#### PETITION SUBMITTED BY ALEXIUS EFFOMATOS TO THE LORD CHANCELLOR OF ENGLAND (c.1471-3: PRO C1/11/294)

To the right reverent fader in God, the Bisshop of Bathe and Welles, Chauncellor of England.

Petuously compleyneth unto your good and gracious lordship your poure oratour, Alexander Effamat, Gricke, that where as oone Richard Scopham, citezeyn and porter of London, affermed a pleynt of dette in the kynges courte afore John Shelley, oone of the shirefs of London, ayenst your seid oratour and by the same pleynt demaunded of hym Cs ayenst all right and conscience ffor asmoche as the seid Alexander never bought ner solde with the seid Richard ner never became dettor unto hym. To the which pleynt your seid oratour pleaded that he ought hym nought whereupon he waged his lawe and hadde daye to doo his lawe according to the custome of the seid citee. At which day he was redy with honest men of his neighbours to have perfourmed and doon his lawe, and the said Richard was nonsued and your seid oratour dysmyssed of that pleynt.

And anon after the seid Richard came before the meyre of the seid citee and by covyn and sotell imagynacion between hym and one John Bans, his wyfes brother of London, draper and Richard Scraieth, of the same craft - the which Richard Scraieth asketh of your seid besecher Vis VIIIId for like mater ffor bothe shuld growe be dettes that shuld have been owyng to theym, as they seyn, by oone Andrewe Effamat, brother to your seid oratour by whos deth your seid besecher hadde never so moche as he hath paid for hym, by XL li. and more nor became dettor of eny peny to the seid Richard Scopham or Richard Scraieth nether understondeth eny dette due to theym - brought with hym the seid John Bans, citezeyn and draper of London and the same Richard Scraieth of the same craft and they there deposed that your seid oratour shuld have graunted hym payment of the summe of LVIIIs where that the trouthe is conterye to thentent to put hym from his lawe, and theruppon affermed a bille ayenst your seid oratour in the meires courte and there by myght and power of his neighbours and of suche as claymeth like dutee of your seid besecher where he never became dettor to eny of theym.

And the seid Richard Scopham being denyzyn and your seid oratour beyng dwellers withyn the seid citee, so he being withoute help of the comen lawe or statute in suche case citee, intendeth to have your seid oratour comdempned and undone forever ayenst all right and conscience withoute your good and gracious lordship to hym be shewed in this behalf.



Wherfor please it your good and gracious lordship the premysses and circumstances theron tenderly to consider to graunte to your seid oratour a *Corpus cum Causa*, direct to the mair and shirefs of the seid citee of London, comaundyng theym by the same to have the body with the cause of the seid besecher afore the kyng in his chauncery at a certeyn day by your lordship to them lymetted there to be examyned in and uppon the premysses as reason and concience shall regnyze and this at the reverens of God and in the wey of charytee.

## Appendix IV

AFTER 1500

The transmission of so many aspects of Byzantine civilisation to the West and elsewhere by Greek immigrants during the late fifteenth century arose from the fact that these were the first generation of exiles. Like the painter, Theophanes the Greek, who drew a picture of Hagia Sophia from memory to satisfy the curiosity of a Russian enquirer<sup>1</sup>, many would have had a first hand acquaintance with Constantinople, its buildings and traditions. It was only to be expected, therefore, that they would have passed on something of the culture in which they had been raised.

As time went on, however, it was inevitable that many of the Greek inhabitants of the West should lose touch with the Byzantine past, as the representatives of the older generation passed away. Andronicus Effomatos, the gold wire drawer, seems to have died in London between 1471 and 1473<sup>2</sup>, George Palaeologus Dishypatos in 1496<sup>3</sup>. Anna Notaras is alleged to have lived to over a hundred and Demetrius Rhaoul Cavaces reached his nineties but neither survived beyond the first decade of the sixteenth century<sup>4</sup>.

The difference between the first and second generation is nowhere more apparent than in the fate of the last Palaeologi. The last serious Greek claimant to the Byzantine throne, Andreas Palaeologus, died in the early summer of 1502<sup>5</sup>. Although he had a son called Fernando and a daughter,

<sup>1</sup> Lazarev, *Theophanes der Grieche*, p. 12.

<sup>2</sup> PRO C54/323, membrane 17v; C1/11/294 (full text Appendix III, below p. 195); CCR (1468-71), no. 752, p. 203. Andronicus was still alive on 5 October 1471 but his death was mentioned by his brother, Alexius, in a plea made to the Lord Chancellor, Stillington of Bath and Wells. This plea dates from before 8 June 1473 when Robert the bishop of Bath and Wells held that office until Cardinal Wolsey in 1515: E.B. Fryde, D.E. Greenway, S. Porter, I. Roy, *Handbook of British Chronology* (London, 1986), pp. 87-8. Only Alexius was included in the final Alien Subsidy assessments made in 1483: PRO E179/264/34, f. 5.

<sup>3</sup> ADMS 1 B308; BN ms français 30927 (Cabinet d'Hozier, XLVI), cote 1137, ff. 6-8 reveal that although Dishypatos was still alive in September 1495 he was dead by November 1500. Renet, 'Les Bissipat', 62, arrived at the date 1496 by drawing on material from the lost communal archives of Beauvais.

<sup>4</sup> Sanudo, *Diarii*, vol. 7, col. 115; Mertzius, 'H διαθήκη', 17-21; Forcella, *Iscrizioni*, vol. 2, no. 676, p. 230.

<sup>5</sup> ASVat Introitus et Exitus 532, f. 126v (orig. 207v); Gottlob, p. 292.



Maria, who went to Moscow to marry a Russian prince<sup>6</sup>, neither seems to have made any attempt to profit from their father's imperial lineage. There was possibly another son who inherited the title of despot and who invited the Pope and cardinals to the baptism of his son in the church of San Marco in 1518<sup>7</sup>. Yet the very lack of evidence on this imperial claimant suggests that his pretensions were not taken very seriously and one assumes that he and his descendants became simply absorbed into the local population with nothing in particular to distinguish them. Although that did not prevent later generations from attempting to cash in on the imperial mystique<sup>8</sup>, to all intents and purposes, however, the authentic and undisputed Byzantine imperial line died in 1502<sup>9</sup>.

Just as Andreas's immediate descendants seem to have lost touch with the imperial claim, those of other Greek exiles appear not to have continued the specialised roles in which the first generation had been so distinguished. Thomas Frank, the physician, had an illegitimate son, Guillaume, who was twenty one and studying at the University of Padua in 1454<sup>10</sup>. When Thomas died in 1456, the French king ensured that Guillaume inherited all his father's property and it has even been asserted that he

<sup>6</sup> Sanudo, *Diarii*, vol. 2, col. 938; Fennell, *Ivan the Great*, pp. 313-14.

<sup>7</sup> Paride Grassi, *Diarium Curiae Romanae*, ed. C.G. Hoffmann, *Nova Scriptorum ac Monumentorum Partim Rarissimorum Ineditorum Collectio*, vol. 1 (Leipzig, 1731), pp. 418-20. In October 1502, several months after the death of Andreas, a Venetian ambassador in Rome made mention of a despot of the Morea residing in the city: *Dispacci di Antonio Giustinian, ambasciatore veneto in Roma dal 1502 al 1505*, ed. P. Villari, vol. 1 (Florence, 1876), p. 164; G.E. Typaldos, 'Οἱ ἀπόγονοι τῶν Παλαιολόγων μετὰ τὴν ἄλωσιν', *Δελτίον τῆς Ἱστορικῆς καὶ Ἐθνολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας τῆς Ἑλλάδος*, 8 (1922), 129-54.

<sup>8</sup> J.H. Adams, 'Theodore Palaeologus', *Journal of the Royal Institution of Cornwall*, ns 6 (1970), 95-120; A.C.F. Beales, 'The Irish King of Greece', *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 51 (1931), 101-5; E. Legrand, *Dossier Rhodocanakis* (Paris, 1895); *The Times*, Wednesday 29 August 1934, p. 12c, Friday 12 January 1988, p. 12h.

<sup>9</sup> The subject of the 'modern Palaeologi' has generated a mass of literature. Among the more sensible summaries are: M.L. Bierbrier, 'Modern descendants of Byzantine families', *Genealogists' Magazine*, 20 (1980-2), 85-96; R. Maisano, 'Su alcune discendenze moderne dei Paleologi di Bizanzio', *Rassegna Storica Salernitana*, 5 (1988), 77-90; Nicol, *Immortal Emperor*, pp. 114-28. Less useful is C.A. Gauci and P. Mallat, *The Palaeologus Family* (Hamrun, Malta, 1985), a collection of highly suspect genealogies, apparently based on information given to the authors by members of the families concerned.

<sup>10</sup> AN JJ181, no. CXXII (written as VIxxII), f. 67; ASVat Reg. Lat. 492, ff. 220v-221, 311-312v; Hamy, 'Thomas de Coron', doc. 2, 201-2; CPL, vol. 10, pp. 702-3.

succeeded Thomas as Charles's physician<sup>11</sup>. There is, however, no evidence that Guillaume ever practised medicine. Later documents describe him as a Doctor of Laws and his service to the French king was rather in the diplomatic sphere<sup>12</sup>. Thomas also had a 'nephew', François, who may, in fact, have been another illegitimate son. He too preferred another career to that of medicine, departing in about 1454 to take part in the war against the Turks<sup>13</sup>.

George Palaeologus Dishypatos had three sons, Guillaume, Jean and Charles as well as a daughter, Antoinette. Jean and Charles died young, in 1486 and 1487<sup>14</sup>, so that it was Guillaume who inherited the chateau of Hannaches, as well as the office of Vicomte of Falaise<sup>15</sup>. He was killed in 1512 at the siege of Boulogne, prompting the poet, Guillaume Crétin, to pen a lament on his passing<sup>16</sup>. None of Dishypatos's sons, however, succeeded him as a sea captain. In London, the Effomatos brothers may not have even

<sup>11</sup> Kendall and Ilardi, *Dispatches*, vol. 1, pp. 246-8; D. Jacquart, *Le milieu médical en France du X<sup>e</sup> au X<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Geneva, 1981), p. 102; Wickersheimer, *Dictionnaire*, p. 24.

<sup>12</sup> BN ms français 13054, f. 228; ms français 10971, f. 230; *Lettres de Louis XI*, vol. 5, p. 3: Guillaume took part in an embassy to the Pope in 1469 and acted as a messenger to Cardinal Bessarion during the legatine mission of 1472.

<sup>13</sup> BN ms français 32511, f. 175: 'François le Franc, du pays de Grèce, neveu de Thomas le Franc, médecin du Roy, LXVIII livres, XV sous pour aler à la guerre contre le grand Turcq'. See also AN JJ182, no. XXXVIII, ff. 21v-22; Hamy, 'Thomas de Coron', doc. 3, 203-5; Concasty, 'Les informations', 95.

<sup>14</sup> Their tombstone still exists in the church at Hannaches, with the following inscription: 'Cy gist messire Jehan de Bissipac, dict le Grec, chevalier qui trepassa le XXe jour de jenvier, le jour de Saint Fabien et Sebastien en l'an mil CCCC IIIxx et sept (i.e. 1487) et Charles, son frere, qui trepassa mil CCCC IIIxxVI (i.e. 1486)': Renet, 'Les Bissipat', 58-9. The description of Jean as 'chevalier' no doubt refers to the knighthoods which his father had obtained for him and his younger brother Guillaume from Andreas Palaeologus in 1481: BN ms français 30927 (Cabinet d'Hozier, XLVI), cote 1137, ff. 4-5. A genealogy of the family, drawn up in 1682 can be found *ibid.* ff. 2-3.

<sup>15</sup> In 1508 he paid homage to the bishop of Beauvais for the fief of Hannaches: *Recueil de documents inédits concernant la Picardie*, ed. V. de Beauvillé, vol. 1 (Paris, 1860), p. 212. He and his sister, Antoinette, are also mentioned in BN ms français 26840, cote 7701, no. 8; ms français 30927 (Cabinet d'Hozier, XLVI), no. 1137, ff. 6-8.

<sup>16</sup> Guillaume Crétin, *Oeuvres Poétiques*, ed. K. Chesnay (Paris, 1932), no. XXXII, pp. 73, 384: 'Plaite sur le trespas du saige et vertueux chevalier, feu de bonne memoire, Guillaume de Byssipat, en son vivant seigneur de Hanaches, viconte de Falyse et l'ung des gentilz hommes de l'ostel du tres victorieux roy Loys XIIe de ce nom'.



left any children at all to carry on their craft of making gold thread. There was an individual called Everard Effomat living in London and Westminster in the 1520s and 1530s but he is never described either as a Greek or as a gold wire drawer. Thus it would seem that Andronicus and Alexius were the last Greeks to pursue their particular trade in London<sup>17</sup>.

These second generation Greek immigrants would probably have regarded themselves as natives of the country in which they were born. They were, after all, often the product of mixed marriages so that they bore western Christian names and probably spoke the local vernacular as their first language. Guillaume de Bissipat was at home enough in French to write songs which were highly thought of<sup>18</sup>. Thus he and the others could hardly have been representatives of the Byzantine tradition in the way that their fathers had.

On the other hand, it should be remembered that the Greek presence in Europe was constantly being reinforced by the flow of new immigrants throughout the next two centuries, as they were displaced from their homelands by further Ottoman successes in the Mediterranean. Methone and Corone were captured in 1500, Rhodes in 1522 and Cyprus in 1571<sup>19</sup>. Many of the refugees from these places were absorbed into the existing Greek community in Venice. Others travelled further West, especially to Spain, soliciting alms to pay ransoms, just as they had done in the years after the fall of Constantinople<sup>20</sup>. As late as the mid-eighteenth century, refugee Greeks were still presenting themselves in English and French towns<sup>21</sup>.

Their reception was remarkably similar to that they had encountered in the fifteenth century. True, the Reformation had broken up the old unity of Christendom, yet, in general, most people retained the idea of the Turks as

<sup>17</sup> PRO C1/399/32-3; W.J. Hardy and W. Page, *A Calendar of the Feet of Fines for London and Middlesex*, vol. 2 (London, 1893), p. 28; E.A. Fry and S.J. Madge, *Abstracts of Inquisitions Post-Mortem*, vol. 2 (London, 1901), p. 120.

<sup>18</sup> Crétin, *Oeuvres*, p. 384.

<sup>19</sup> Cogo, 'La guerra', 97-138; Setton, *Papacy and Levant*, vol. 2, p. 522, vol. 3, pp. 214-16, vol. 4, pp. 1004-44.

<sup>20</sup> LP, vol. 13, pt. II, no. 847, p. 353; Ball, *Greek Community*, excursus II, pp. 191-203; Chasiotes, *Σχέσεις*, pp. 15ff; P. Kelemen, *El Greco Revisited* (New York, 1961), pp. 83-93.

<sup>21</sup> PRO SP36/27, ff. 161-161v; *Documents concernant les pauvres de Rouen*, ed. G. Panel, vol. 2 (Rouen and Paris, 1919), p. 253; A.B. Sackett, 'John Wesley and the Greek Orthodox bishop', *Proceedings of the Wesley Historical Society*, 38 (1971-2), 81-7, 97-102.

infidels and the enemies of all Christians<sup>22</sup>. Many individuals and institutions were well disposed to the Greeks. Monarchs continued to provide them with safe-conducts and licences to collect alms, the clergy to give them letters urging the faithful to give them alms<sup>23</sup>.

As a result the numbers of Greeks settled in Western Europe grew. New colonies of them were founded at Livorno, Ancona, Trieste and on the island of Corsica<sup>24</sup>. Outside Italy, it was Spain which received the largest numbers after 1500<sup>25</sup> but even in London and Amsterdam recognisable Greek communities were established by the late seventeenth or early eighteenth centuries<sup>26</sup>. The regular influx and the existence of well-defined communities must have ensured that there was always a distinct Greek element in the West, replacing that which became absorbed with the passage of time.

It is not without interest, therefore, that these newcomers were often to be found obtaining employment in the same fields as their predecessors had during the fifteenth century. They continued to be in demand as a source of information on the classical Greek language and western scholars were no

<sup>22</sup> This argument is examined in detail by F.L. Baumer, 'England, the Turk and the common corps of Christendom', *American Historical Review*, 50 (1944-5), 26-48. Not everyone was sympathetic, though, one Scottish observer writing that 'there is no such matter as these lying rascals report unto you, concerning their fathers, wives and children taken captive by the Turke'. He may well have had a point. There were instances of Greek travellers soliciting alms under false pretences: CSP (Dom), (1623-5), p. 148; William Lithgow, *The Totall Discourse of the Rare and Painful Peregrinations* (Glasgow, 1906), p. 106.

<sup>23</sup> CSP (Dom), (1623-5), p. 111, (1625-6), p. 557, (1677-8), p. 220; Churchwardens' Accounts of St. Mary the Great, Cambridge, ed. J.E. Foster, Cambridge Antiquarian Society, 35 (Cambridge, 1905), p. 430; E. Legrand, *Bibliographie hellénique - XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, vol. 1 (Paris, 1894), pp. 111-12.

<sup>24</sup> N.B. Tomadakis, 'Ναοὶ καὶ θεομοὶ τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς κοινότητος τοῦ Ἀιθῶρνου', *EEBS*, 16 (1940), 81-127; G. Saracini, *Notitie storiche della città d'Ancona* (Rome, 1675), p. 362; M.B. Fiorin, 'Icone della comunità greca-ortodossa di Trieste', *Atti dei Civici Musei di Storia ed Arte di Trieste*, 9 (1976-7), 81-116; P. Stephanopoli, *Histoire de la colonie grecque établie en Corse* (Paris, 1826).

<sup>25</sup> Kelemen, *El Greco*, pp. 83-93; F. de B. San Román, 'De la vida del Greco', *Archivo Español de Arte y Arqueología*, 3 (1927), 139-95, 275-339, esp. 144-7.

<sup>26</sup> PRO PC2/64, p. 341; CSP (Dom), (1677-8), p. 38, (1680-1), pp. 691-2; Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts - *Fourth Report* (London, 1874), p. 245; P.A. Bezodis, 'The Greek church (later St. Mary's, Crown Street) and St. Martin's almshouses', *Survey of London*, ed. F.H.W. Sheppard, vol. 33 (London, 1966), pp. 278-84, vol. 34 (London, 1966), pl. 16; T. Stoianovich, 'The conquering Balkan Orthodox merchant', *Journal of Economic History*, 20 (1960), 234-313, esp. 269-73.



doubt often moved to help destitute refugees for this reason<sup>27</sup>. The kings of France retained Angelos Vergiclos, Constantine Palaeocappa and James Diassorinos to enlarge and catalogue the Greek collection in the library at Fontainebleau<sup>28</sup>. Others supplied manuscripts to wealthy patrons. Manuel Rhaoul Cavaces obtained books for Poliziano<sup>29</sup>, and Nicolas Tourrianos and friends travelled to England to offer their wares to the bishop of Salisbury in 1568<sup>30</sup>. A Greek beggar helped Thomas Coryate to polish his Greek by conversing with him in the aisles of St. Paul's cathedral<sup>31</sup>.

They also appear once more as physicians and mariners. Constantine Rhodocanacis practised in England during the 1660s and a Greek from the island of Chios worked for nine years in the hospital of Santo Spirito in Rome<sup>32</sup>. There were enough Greek sailors putting ashore at London in 1677 for an Orthodox church to be built for them<sup>33</sup> and by 1817 a parliamentary report could observe that the population of the Shadwell area consisted 'entirely of foreign sailors, Lascars, Chinese, Greeks'<sup>34</sup>.

<sup>27</sup> Crusius, *Turcograecia*, p. 64; T.F. Kirby, *The Annals of Winchester College* (London, 1892), p. 297.

<sup>28</sup> H. Omont, *Catalogue de manuscrits grecs copiés à Paris au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle par Constantin Palaeocappa* (Le Puy, 1886); *BH*, vol. 1, pp. CLXXV-LXXXXVI; Omont, *Fac-similés*, no. 23.

<sup>29</sup> Pietro Vettori, *Variarum Lectionum Libri XXXVIII* (Florence, 1572), bk. XVII, ch. 2, p. 195; P. de Nolhac, *La bibliothèque de Fulvio Orsini* (Paris, 1887), pp. 213-15. Manuel Rhaoul Cavaces was a protégé first of Cardinal Barbo and then of Pope Leo X and finally he became bishop of Monemvasia in 1517: Paolo Cortesi, *De Cardinalatu, Libri III* (Castro Cartesio, 1510), f. LVI; *Leonis X Pontificis Maximi Regesta*, no. 226; Sanudo, *Diarii*, vol. 25, col. 66; Eubel, vol. 3, p. 248; *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 15, pp. 669-71.

<sup>30</sup> CSP (*Dom*), (1547-80), pp. 323-4. Tourrianos later became the librarian of the king of Spain: G. de Andrés-Martínez, *El Cretense Nicolás de la Torre, copista griego de Felipe II* (Madrid, 1969); *VG*, pp. 358-9.

<sup>31</sup> Thomas Coryate, *The Odcombian Banquet* (London, 1611), f. B2: 'The greatest politicke that advances into Paules hee will quitte, to go talk with the Grecian that begs there'.

<sup>32</sup> CSP (*Dom*), (Addenda, 1660-85), p. 496; Legrand, *Bibliographie - XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, vol. 2 (Paris, 1894), pp. 148, 188, 189; P.P. Argenti and S.P. Kyriakidis, 'H X<sup>10</sup>ς παρὰ τοῖς γεωγράφοις καὶ περιηγηταῖς' (Athens, 1946), vol. 2, p. 732.

<sup>33</sup> PRO PC2/64, p. 341; Bezodis, 'Greek church', p. 278. They probably served on foreign vessels, willingly or otherwise, rather than on their own. A Greek priest of Patras claimed around this same time that his brother had been 'taken' by an English frigate, presumably pressed into service during a shortage of men: CSP (*Dom*), (1668-9), pp. 652-3.

<sup>34</sup> *Parliamentary Papers: Report on the Police of the Metropolis*, 1817, VII, p. 195.

Greeks continued to be involved in the production and sale of expensive cloth. The most common profession among the community in Venice early in the sixteenth century was that of *sartoro* or tailor. Peter de Mylan who lived in London, presumably followed a similar profession, as he imported cargoes of leather and supplied a satin gown to Thomas Cromwell in 1539<sup>35</sup>. Over two hundred years later, the British government was proposing to settle Greeks skilled in the culture of silk in the colonies of North America<sup>36</sup>.

By the mid-eighteenth century, however, it would have been unlikely that these immigrants would have had much to teach the West in matters of medicine, seamanship, cloth production or even classical Greek. The long years of the *tourcocratie* eradicated much of Byzantium's legacy even in its former territories, with the notable exception of the Orthodox Church, while by contrast the pace of technical development in Western Europe moved ever more swiftly. Consequently, many Greeks came to Europe in search of education, rather than to offer their own skills as those in the fifteenth century had<sup>37</sup>. Most of those who practised as physicians learned their trade in Italy, usually Padua, and the shipwright Iani who worked for the Ottomans in 1498, had acquired his art in Venice<sup>38</sup>.

Yet that is not to say that the Greeks contributed nothing to the development of the West after about 1500. Even if they had no superior skills to offer, they remained a distinct and innovative minority group. Whether it was in introducing the delights of coffee, in organising a spectacular firework display or even in patenting a novel method of pickling fish, they showed an

<sup>35</sup> PRO E36/143, f. 28; E36/256, f. 17v; C66/689, membrane 40; *LP*, vol. 14, pt. 2, no. 494, p. 176, no. 619 (42), p. 224, no. 782, p. 343; Pardos, 'Ἀλφαβητικὸς κατάλογος - I. \*Ἀνδρες', 322. D.J. Geanakoplos, *Byzantine East and Latin West* (Oxford, 1966), pp. 157-8, refers to a document in his possession which concerns a family of Cretan merchants in Elizabethan England who specialised in the importation of cloth. As far as I know, he never published this document.

<sup>36</sup> *Calendar of Home Office Papers of the Reign of George III (1766-9)*, no. 456, p. 165, no. 462, p. 167; *Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts - Fifth Report* (London, 1876), p. 222.

<sup>37</sup> CSP (*Dom*), (1603-10), p. 548, (1700-2), pp. 41-2; F.H. Marshall, 'An eastern patriarch's education in England', *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 46 (1926), 185-202; K. Rozemund, *Archimandrite Hierotheos Abbatis, 1599-1664* (Leiden, 1966); Anthony à Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses*, ed. P. Bliss, vol. 2 (London, 1815), cols. 633-4, vol. 4 (London, 1820), pt. II, col. 808.

<sup>38</sup> Argenti and Kyriakidis, *X<sup>10</sup>ς*, vol. 2, pp. 725, 732; K. Ware, *Eustratios Argenti. A Study of the Greek Church under Turkish Rule* (Oxford, 1964), p. 45; Mustafa Ibn Abd Allah, *History of Maritime Wars*, pp. 19-20.



ability to detect a need in the host society and to fill it<sup>39</sup>. Moreover, as the influence of Europe expanded, so did the range of the emigrants so that by the nineteenth century they had established colonies in all corners of the globe<sup>40</sup>. So although the passing of the first generation of Byzantine exiles marked the end of any living memory of the old world of Byzantium, as regards the history of the Greek communities in exile, it was only the very beginning.

<sup>39</sup> CSP (*Dom*), (1677-8), p. 508; J.L. Rodriguez Escorial, 'El pintor Nicolás Greco, pirotécnico', *Estudios Segovianos*, 1 (1949), 585-90; Wood, *Athenae*, vol. 4, pt. II, col. 808.

<sup>40</sup> See, for example: S.G. Kanoutas, 'Ο Ἑλληνισμὸς ἐν Ἀμερικῇ' (New York, 1918); T. Natsoulas, 'The Greeks as an alien minority at the outset of Ethiopia's economic development, 1880-1910', *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*, 13 (1989), 219-43.

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